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IN THIS ISSUE

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Few events highlight Utah's unique nineteenth century history as does the Utah War of 1857-58 when federal troops were dispatched to Utah to put down an alleged Mormon rebellion, restore law and order, reestablish the authority of the United States government, and begin the process to "Americanize" the inhabitants of the far-off valleys of Utah.

The soldiers under the command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston and the new civilian government under Alfred Cumming, Brigham Young's replacement as territorial governor, did have an impact on Utah in the late 1850s. However, whether or not Utah needed to be Americanized, what it meant to be Americanized, and when the process was completed are subjects that have engaged Utah historians for decades. Historians have found manifestation of this Americanization process in many examples: the decision to abandon the practice of polygamy; statehood for Utah; the adoption of a progressive constitution for the new state; the emergence of national political parties in the state; its educational institutions; the expansion of mining; wholehearted acceptance of capitalism; a more pragmatic view of society pushing out the communal and utopian ideas of earlier years; participation by Utahns in the Spanish-American War, Philippine insurrection, Mexico border campaign, and World War I; and a greater acceptance of national trends in literature, music, amusements, and, to be sure, the American pastime — baseball.

Our first article examines the conduct of the Nauvoo Legion in response to the march of federal soldiers to Utah in 1857. The article concludes that the harassment of supply trains, the extensive defense preparations in Echo Canyon, and the success of the militia in holding the federal army in Wyoming

during the winter of 1857-58 were essential measures in buying time to conduct negotiations that prevented violence and bloodshed that would have occurred had the army attempted to force its way into the Salt Lake Valley. At the same time, the federal force started late, was badly managed, sent with insufficient supplies, and its interim leader, Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, operated without any explicit orders on how to deal with Mormons and fearful of censure from superiors should any Mormons be killed.

John I. Ginn, the subject of our second article, came west with the Utah Expedition. Under the protection of Orrin Porter Rockwell, he reached Salt Lake City from Fort Bridger in the fall of 1857. With a pass from Brigham Young and escorted by Jacob Hamblin, Ginn and his party traveled through Mountain Meadows eight weeks after the tragic massacre and arrived at San Bernardino, California in December 1857. Several decades later Ginn wrote an account of his experiences–an account used by historians of the Utah War and Mountain Meadows Massacre. The context, history, strengths, and limitations of this account offer important insights for students of the tumultuous Utah War period and in the use of accounts penned long after the events they describe.

Tony Lazzeri came to Utah in 1922 under circumstances vastly different than those for John Ginn in 1857. An Italian-American from San Francisco, Lazzeri came as a professional baseball player for the Salt Lake Bees. During the 1925 season he hit sixty home runs, still a Pacific Coast League record. Two years later, Babe Ruth hit the same number of home runs as a player for the New York Yankees. Lazzeri left Salt Lake City in 1926 to join Babe Ruth and the New York Yankees taking with him a nickname "Poosh em up Tone" coined by Salt Lake fans that would go with him all the way to baseball's Hall of Fame.

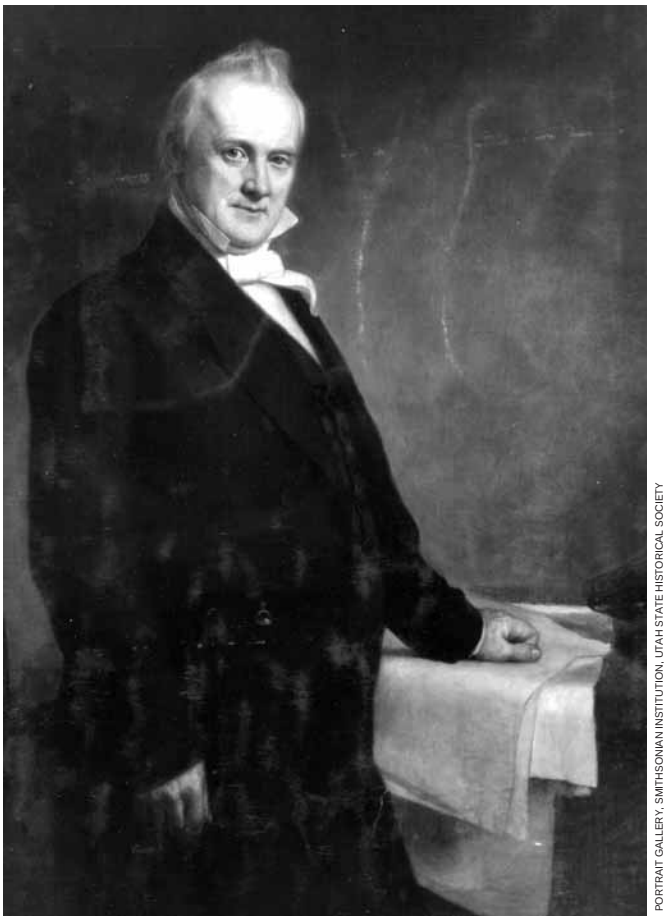
Another Italian-American baseball professional, Tommy Lasorda, arrived in Ogden in 1966, four decades after Lazzeri's departure from Utah. During his three years in Ogden Lasorda managed a number of future major leaguers including many he would coach again during his twenty-year career as manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers. Like Lazzeri, Lasorda was elected to the Hall of Fame and has become a baseball legend. Our last article offers a delightful glimpse of Lasorda and rookie league baseball in Ogden during the 1960s.

OPPOSITE: Members of the Utah Expedition rest at a warm campfire following a hard day's march into Utah in April 1858.

ON THE COVER: Pictured here members of the 1915 Salt Lake City Bees baseball team. Claude "Lefty" Williams, center holding flowers; to his right, Willie Powell, team mascot. Williams pitched for the Detroit Tigers, 1913-1914, then a full season for the Pacific Coast League Salt Lake Bees in 1915, winning thirty-two and losing thirteen games. From 1916 to 1919 he pitched for the Chicago White Sox where in 1919 he was involved in the Chicago Black Sox scandal. He was banned from playing baseball for life. SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Nauvoo Legion and the Prevention of the Utah War

By BRANDON J. METCALF



PORTRAIT GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Painting, Democratic President James Buchanan (1856-60), was convinced that the Mormons were in a state of rebellion. Ordered 2,500 soldiers to Utah in May 1857.

"... you will have to meet a mode of warfare against which your tactics furnish you no information."

–Brigham Young's warning to Colonel Edmund Alexander[1]

In the spring of 1857, newly elected president James Buchanan launched an expedition of nearly one-third of the United States Army to the territory of Utah. Buchanan determined to appoint new officials in the territory and considered it necessary to send a military escort in case rumors of a Mormon rebellion were true. The moment Mormon leaders received the news of the incoming army they feared the worst, having received no word from the government concerning the purpose of the expedition. The events that took place over the next year came to be known as the "Utah War," the "Mormon War," or "Buchanan's Blunder."[2] Given the failure of the federal

Brandon Metcalf recently received his Master of Arts Degree in Public History from California State University, Sacramento.

[1] Brigham Young to Edmund B. Alexander, October 16, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

[2] B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4: 181. Much has been written on the Utah War, yet only a

government to intercede in behalf of Mormons victimized by mob activities in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, Utah Mormons had little trust in the United States government and decided to stand their ground and prepare for war. The Utah militia, also known as the Nauvoo Legion, was activated and sent east along the Mormon Trail to harass, hinder, and, if possible, stop the advancing federal army. Taking advantage of the army's lack of specific orders and directives, Legion units burned army supply trains, stole army horses and cattle, and prepared fortifications in Echo Canyon and other locations east of Salt Lake City. This aggressive conduct and stratagem initiated by the Nauvoo Legion in the fall of 1857 proved to be crucial in preventing Buchanan's Utah Expedition from ever escalating into an all-out war.

Distrust, ignorance, and misinformation had marked relationships between Mormons and the populace of the United States for decades. A leading cause of the hostile and contentious attitudes among non-Mormons was the practice of polygamy. LDS church founder Joseph Smith initiated polygamy at least as early as 1841, and for a time, the Mormons attempted to keep polygamy a secret. By 1852 Mormon leader Orson Pratt officially announced the church's practice of plural marriage, and in 1856 the Republican Party platform dubbed polygamy and slavery as the "twin relics of barbarism," and insisted that Congress should take action to prohibit the practice of such.[3]

Newspapers of the time referred to polygamy as "the enslavement of women," called Salt Lake City a "sink of iniquity," and labeled the church a "giant of licentiousness, lawlessness, and all evil."[4] Many easterners saw Buchanan's expedition as the means to liberate Mormon women from the peculiar and immoral practice of plural marriage being imposed upon them. Yet, mainstream America failed to realize that most Mormon men accepted the practice of polygamy "reluctantly as a doctrinal requirement, or that the women in Utah were not universally revolted at the system" and that "only some 5 percent of the Territory's population were involved in plural marriage."[5]

handful of books are solely dedicated to the subject. LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858: A documentary account of the United States military movement under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, and the resistence by Brigham Young and the Mormon Nauvoo Legion* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1982) is a valuable primary resource of letters and diaries of many of the major players involved in the conflict. Utah War historian William MacKinnon is currently editing a forthcoming work concerning the documentary history of the Utah War titled *At Sword's Point: A Documentary History of the Utah War of 1857-1858* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark). Norman F. Furniss', *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960) remains the best secondary work strictly devoted to the Utah War.

[3] Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 4: 223. Polygamy remains a hot topic in Mormon scholarship and is the subject of two recent well-researched volumes. Sarah Barringer Gordon's, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) addresses the legal debate over the First Amendment by reviewing a series of Mormon cases which continue to affect freedom of religion in America even today. Kathryn M. Daynes uses Manti, Utah, as a case study in her analysis of nineteenth century polygamy and its eventual decline in *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

[4] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 82-83.

[5] Ibid, 82. Recent studies have estimated the number of Mormons involved in plural marriage in nineteenth century Utah to be a much higher figure—between 15 and 20 percent of the population. See

Letters of complaint sent to Washington D.C. strengthened Buchanan's resolve to suppress the unruly Mormons, and "the nation's most extensive and expensive military undertaking during the period between the Mexican and Civil wars" commenced.[6] In defense of its action the Buchanan administration referred to letters drafted by "three influential men: the displaced mail contractor, W. M. F. Magraw; an appointed Associate Justice of the Utah Supreme Court, W. W. Drummond; and Thomas S. Twiss, Indian Agent on the Upper Platte."[7] Twiss wrote a letter to the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs insisting that the Saints planned "to monopolize all of the trade with the Indians and whites within, or passing through the Indian country." He urged those in Washington to do something "to correct the evil."[8] Magraw was co-owner of the Magraw and Hockaday firm that had received the government contract to carry the mail between Independence, Missouri, and Salt Lake City. Mail service was far from satisfactory. Schedules were seldom met, entire mail shipments were lost, and long delays were common.[9] Dissatisfied, Mormons soon established the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company, known simply as the Y. X. Company, and secured the mail contract by asking for less than half the amount Magraw and Hockaday had been paid.[10] Magraw's letter came as a result of the dispute over the contract. In his letter, Magraw claimed: "There is left no vestige of law and order…the civil laws of the Territory are overshadowed and neutralized by a so-styled ecclesiastical organization, as despotic, dangerous and damnable, as has ever been known to exist in any country….Many of the inhabitants of the Territory possess passions and elements of character calculated to drive them to extremes."[11]

Justice William W. Drummond penned the most detrimental letter of the three. Drummond was appointed associate justice in 1854, and from the minute he arrived in Utah he snubbed local laws and sought to challenge Mormon authority by attacking the jurisdiction of the probate courts. He lashed out in mocking polygamy while he himself had left his "family in Illinois without the means of support" and "brought with him a harlot whom he had picked up in the streets of Washington" and passed her off in

Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 91-103.

[6] William P. MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories: Origins of the Utah Expedition of 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1984): 213.

[7] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 171.

[8] Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Star Publishing Company, 1886), 151; Roberts, *A Comprehensive History*, 4:211-12.

[9] Harold Schindler writes, "In the first fourteen months of operation the two partners had succeeded in meeting the schedule just three times" averaging "an unimpressive forty days each way" and "on several occasions the mail had been lost entirely." *Orrin Porter Rockwell: man of God, son of thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966), 224.

[10] Furniss, *Mormon Conflict*, 51.

[11] "Mr. Magraw's Letter to the President," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition* , 361-62.

Utah as Mrs. Drummond.[12] Amid contention and controversy Drummond fled Utah for the east via California in the early part of 1857. From New Orleans Drummond wrote his letter of resignation wherein he explained that Mormons only looked to Brigham Young "and to him alone, for the law" not considering any law of Congress as "binding in any manner." He also claimed that there existed a "secret oath-bound organization" among the male members of the Mormon church that only acknowledged the holy priesthood as law. Furthermore, Drummond professed that the records and papers of the Supreme Court had been destroyed by order of church leaders, federal officers were constantly harassed by the Mormons, and these officers were "daily compelled to hear the form of the American government traduced" and chief executives of the nation "slandered and abused…in the most vulgar, loathsome, and wicked manner." Finally, Drummond accused Mormons of being directly responsible for the murders of officials who had supposedly been killed by Indians. Drummond concluded his letter with the suggestion that Young be removed as governor and replaced by a non-Mormon "with a sufficient military aid."[13] This letter obviously carried some clout with Buchanan, for in his annual message in December 1857 Buchanan "described the situation in the Territory in words closely approximating those used by Drummond."[14]

Eventually, the accusations of Drummond, Magraw, and Twiss were "proven to be either misrepresentations, exaggerations, or outright lies."[15] Unfortunately, the telegraph did not reach Utah until 1861, and thus a rapid form of communication between Salt Lake City and the rest of the United States simply did not exist in 1857. Had the telegraph reached Utah four years earlier perhaps the army's trek to Utah could have been entirely avoided.[16] Without the opportunity for immediate communication with Mormon leaders, Buchanan refused to investigate further the conditions in Utah, but instead ordered a large military force to escort Alfred Cumming to Utah where he would assume the office of Territorial Governor, the position held by Brigham Young since the establishment of the Utah Territory in 1850. Throughout the spring of 1857, Buchanan's expedition was "shrouded in secrecy," making no public announcement "as to his purposes or program . . . prior to his launching of the undertaking" until the official orders were issued by General Winfield Scott on May 28, 1857, for the deportation of "not less than 2,500 men."[17] U. S. soldier John Rosa

[12] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1889), 490.

[13] "Judge Drummond's Letter of Resignation" in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 363-66.

[14] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, 64.

[15] Dennis D. Flake, "A Study of Mormon Resistance During the Utah War, 1857-1858" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975), 7.

[16] Buchanan expressed on more than one occasion that he wished to have the opportunity to talk to Brigham Young concerning the situation. William P. MacKinnon, "Epilogue to the Utah War: Impact and Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 241. This article is an excellent analysis of the war's far-reaching political, economic, and geographical impact upon post-1858 Utah and the west in general.

[17] Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 27-28.

summarized the army's purposes for marching on Utah simply as the result of the Mormons' refusal to "put themselves under the control of the United States, therefore they sent troops to be made to obey the law of the United States."[18]

Under orders of President James Buchanan, General Winfield Scott directed that the Utah Expedition be composed of the 5th and 10th Infantry Regiments, 2nd Dragoons and 4th Artillery.[19] Brigadier General William S. Harney was initially assigned to lead the expedition but was soon reassigned to Kansas. As a result, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston was appointed to replace General Harney as commander on August 29th.[20] By this time the army had been en route to Utah for over a month. Leadership responsibilities fell upon the senior officer of the expedition, Colonel Edmund B. Alexander of the 10th Infantry, until Johnston caught up to the group in early November.[21]

Upon his arrival in the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, Brigham Young stated that, "If the people of the United States will let us alone for ten years, we will ask no odds of them."[22] Exactly ten years to the day at about noon, "Bishop A.O. Smoot, Elders Judson Stoddard and O.P. Rockwell and Judge E. Smith rode into camp" discreetly delivering the news of the approaching army to Brigham Young and a number of his aides.[23] Abraham O. Smoot was serving as mayor of Salt Lake City at the time and had gone east with the Utah June mail. On his way to Independence, Missouri, Smoot came across two or three hundred U.S. troops and large government supply trains headed west. Upon reaching Independence, Smoot approached William H. Russell, owner of the freight wagons, and learned that their destination was Salt Lake City and more troops would soon follow. Smoot and his party, which included Judson Stoddard, immediately departed for Utah and met Orrin Porter Rockwell east of Fort Laramie. Rockwell was headed east with the July mail and returned with the group

[18] John Rosa Reminiscences [ca. 1863], photocopy of typescript, LDS Church Archives. Brigham Young insisted from the outset that the expedition was sent out to financially benefit commercial friends of the Buchanan administration including Russell, Majors & Wadell, while another theory for the expedition is based on the belief that southern sympathizers saw the campaign as an opportunity to isolate the heart of the army far away from the secessionist movement. See MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories," 212-30.

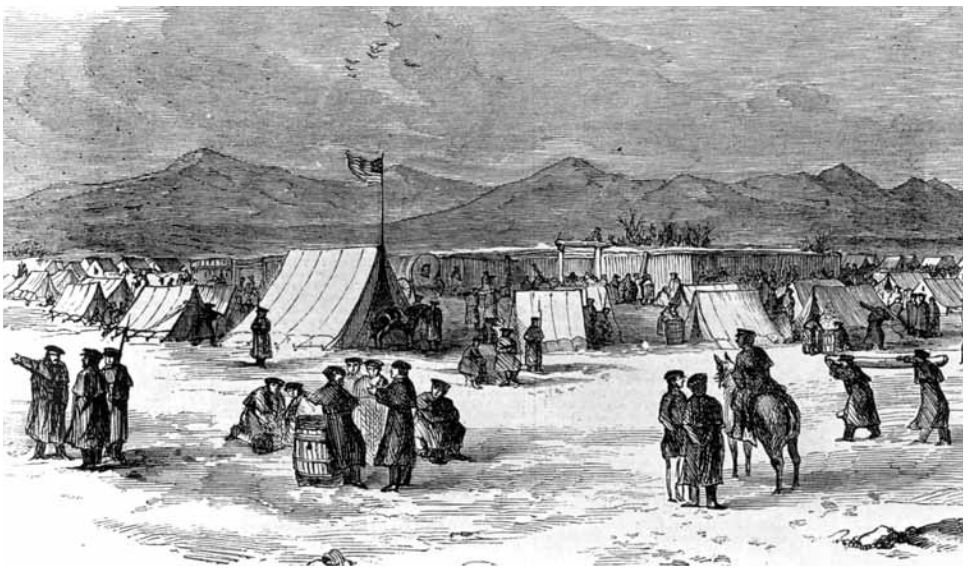
[19] Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 27-28.

[20] Albert Sidney Johnston graduated from West Point in 1826 and served in the Black Hawk War before relocating to Texas where he served as Secretary of War. Johnston was made Colonel of the Second United States Cavalry in 1855. Following his involvement in the Utah Expedition he went on to have a distinguished career in the Confederate Army. He was killed at the Battle of Shiloh on April 5, 1862. Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 139.

[21] Edmund Brooke Alexander graduated from West Point in 1823 as a Second Lieutenant. He served in the Mexican War in 1847 as a Brevet Lt. Colonel and in 1855 was appointed Colonel of the 10th Infantry. Following the Utah War he was provost marshal during the Civil War and retired from the army in 1869. He died in 1888. *The National CyclopÆdio of American Biography* 4 vols. (New York: James T. White and Co., 1893-1916), 4:225; R.W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," *The Contributor* IX (August 1888): 372.

[22] *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886; reprint (Salt Lake City, 1967), 5:226.

[23] *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), July 29, 1857.



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Utah Expedition camp at Fort Bridger. Sketch from Harper's Weekly, January 30, 1858.

to Laramie. From there Smoot, Rockwell, and Stoddard determined to make the 513 mile trip to the Salt Lake Valley as fast as their horses would carry them and arrived in just five days.[24] Upon reaching Salt Lake City the evening of July 23, the three men found the city almost vacant as nearly two thousand six hundred persons were in Big Cottonwood Canyon preparing for the celebration of their tenth anniversary in the Salt Lake Valley.[25]

The secrecy and size of the expedition and rumors of another force en route to Utah from Oregon led Mormons to fear the worst—annihilation at the hands of the army. Within a few weeks of the news, Nauvoo Legion officers developed a strategy and issued orders for engaging the invading army:

> It is reported that an armed force is coming from Oregon to invade this Territory from the North, simultaneously with those coming from the East,–You will therefore take immediate measures to know if such should be the case before they come upon us. Before they arrive in the settlements they must be met and repulsed. They must not be permitted to come into this territory. . . .

[24] Orrin Porter Rockwell was born June 28, 1813, in Belcher, Massachusetts. He converted to Mormonism shortly after its inception in 1830. A friend of Joseph Smith, Rockwell served as his bodyguard during the time Rockwell was accused of attempting to assassinate Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs. Rockwell later was a member of Orson Pratt's advance pioneer company that arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. He later served as deputy marshal of Salt Lake City and directed the overland mail and Pony Express in Utah. His home, on the south end of the Salt Lake Valley near Bluffdale, served as a mail station prior to his death June 9, 1878. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company and Deseret News, 1901-1936), 4:716; Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell*.

[25] Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 4: 235-37. Judge Elias Smith was the postmaster of Salt Lake City and did not make the journey from Laramie with Smoot, Rockwell, and Stoddard. Smith merely accompanied the trio from Salt Lake City up to Cottonwood Canyon to deliver the news of the approaching army to church leaders.

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Detachment of the Utah Expedition from Camp Scott collecting firewood, winter 1858. Camp Scott was a temporary camp established by the U.S. Army following the destruction of Fort Bridger by the Utah territorial militia.

> Remember our mode of warfare is to destroy our enemies without losing our own men; waylay them, stampede their animals, cut off their patrolling parties, burn the grass and lay waste the country before them, separate them from their baggage if possible and burn them until they are utterly destroyed and wasted away and your own men all the time comparatively safe.[26]

No matter the size of the approaching army, the initial plan of action was unmistakably clear: the Mormons would not run, but vigorously harass the army to keep it from entering the territory. Mormons warned their Indian allies "that our enemies are also their enemies . . . that they must be our friends and stick to us, for if our enemies kill us off, they will surely be cut off by the same parties."[27] However, it was clear that responsibility for keeping the approaching federal army out of Utah fell to the territory militia commonly known as the Nauvoo Legion.

The Nauvoo Legion was organized in December 1840 under authorization of the Illinois state legislature. Lacking any trust in federal and state authorities, Mormons were eager to establish a military force to prevent a repeat of mob attacks similar to those faced in Missouri and Ohio. In 1841 Mormon prophet and founder Joseph Smith was elected as the first Lieutenant General, a rank not held by any other militia officer in the United States at the time. Following Smith's death in 1844, the Illinois legislature revoked the Nauvoo Charter and the Legion was no longer recognized as a branch of the state militia. Brigham Young succeeded Joseph as Lieutenant General, and the organization continued to function (unsanctioned

[26] Adjutant General's Office to Samuel Smith, August 12, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

[27] Adjutant General's Office to Brigadier General A. Johnson, August 13, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

by the state of Illinois) until the exodus from Nauvoo. After arriving in Utah, church leaders deemed it necessary to reconstitute the Nauvoo Legion in 1849 primarily for protection against hostile Indians in the Territory. Daniel H. Wells was chosen as Lieutenant General in 1852, and the militia continued until 1887 when it was dissolved by provisions in the Edmunds-Tucker Act.[28]

Eight days after learning of the army's march, Lieutenant General Wells sent orders to leaders of the Nauvoo Legion throughout the territory. The orders read:

> You are instructed to hold your command in readiness to march at the shortest possible notice to any part of the Territory. See that the law is strictly enforced in regard to arms and ammunition, and as far as practicable that each Ten be provided with a good wagon and four horses or mules, as well as the necessary clothing, etc., for a winter campaign . . . Avoid all excitement but be ready.[29]

This letter reached the various districts of the Legion within a few days and soon all firearms were cleaned and repaired, horses equipped, and camping outfits prepared. The objective for the Nauvoo Legion was "to compel the army to seek a winter refuge in the plains, in order to secure time for public sentiment to exert its influence . . . and for measures to be set on foot to adjust the difficulties."[30] Lest the Legion fail in its mission to harass, discourage, impede and prevent the army from reaching Salt Lake City before winter, Mormons were instructed to gather clothing, food, and wagons and prepare "to lay everything waste and go into the mountains" on a moment's notice.[31]

[28] Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1941), 562-63; Philip M. Flammer, "Nauvoo Legion," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:998-99. The Nauvoo Legion was organized into military districts and consisted of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Each district had officers, scouts, and rangers who often shared duties regardless of rank. Aside from the Utah War, the Legion participated in the Walker War of 1853-1854, protected overland mail and telegraph lines during the Civil War, and fought Indians in the Black Hawk War (1865-1868). The Utah National Guard assumed the duties of Utah's militia in 1894, seven years after the disbanding of the Nauvoo Legion. Members of the Utah National Guard remained predominantly Mormon, but included men from outside the church as well. For more on the history of the Utah National Guard see Richard C. Roberts, *Legacy: The History of the Utah National Guard from Nauvoo Legion Era to Enduring Freedom* (Salt Lake City: National Guard Association of Utah, 2003).

Daniel Hanmer Wells was born at Trenton, New York, on October 27, 1814. He settled with his mother and sister in Commerce (later renamed Nauvoo), Illinois, prior to the arrival of the Mormons in 1839. Wells was elected to the city council and named brigadier general in the Nauvoo Legion prior to being baptized a Latter-day Saint August 9, 1846, and played a major role in the battle of Nauvoo before journeying to Utah in 1848. In Utah Wells was elected to the first legislative council, appointed as State Attorney, and elected major general of the Nauvoo Legion in 1849. A few months before the dispatch of U. S. troops by Buchanan, Brigham Young called Wells to be his second counselor in the First Presidency, which position he held until the death of Brigham in 1877. He later presided over the European Mission on two separate occasions and served as president of the Manti Temple before his death on March 24, 1891. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:62-66.

[29] Wells, *The Contributor* III (1882): 177.

[30] R.W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," 361.

[31] Adjutant General's Office to Brigadier General A. Johnson, August 13, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives. Roughly 30,000 Mormons did eventually vacate northern Utah under the direction of Brigham Young in the spring of 1858 and relocate to Utah Valley. They returned to their homes in July when it became clear that the Army was no longer a threat. See Richard D. Poll, "The Move South," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 65-88. Prior to the Move South, 171 men were sent out in March 1858 to locate a place of refuge in the deserts of southwestern Utah and eastern Nevada in case a retreat

The first squad of Nauvoo Legion troops was sent out on August 15, 1857, under Colonel Robert T. Burton.[32] Burton was instructed "to march east on the main travel road . . . to act as a corps of observation to learn the strength and equipment of forces reported on the way to Utah."[33] Burton was first and foremost to take his men and spy on the army to get an idea of what the Mormons were up against. He then relayed all movements of the army back to headquarters to keep General Wells and Brigham Young informed of Alexander's progress. When Burton and his squad reached the advance party of U.S. troops they became their "immediate neighbors," making certain that "scouts and spies were with them continually, examining their camps, arms, equipment, etc., and reporting to headquarters."[34] Moreover, Burton and his men were to protect and assist Mormon immigrants making their way west to Utah.

In late July 1857, Captain Stewart Van Vliet was ordered to "proceed with the utmost despatch to Salt Lake City . . . for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements and purchases for providing the troops . . . with sufficient forage, fuel, &c., on their arrival at or near that place."[35] In order to do this he was to meet personally with Brigham Young and ascertain the availability of resources for the incoming army. Van Vliet arrived in Salt Lake City on September 8 and in meeting with Brigham Young was told that the Mormons would fight the army if necessary. After conversing with Young, Van Vliet declared that the Mormons had "been lied about the worst of any people I ever saw" and vowed that he would "stop the train on Ham's Fork."[36] The day after Van Vliet's departure, the pivotal proclamation was issued by Governor Young, which read in part:

> CITIZENS OF UTAH: We are invaded by a hostile force, who are evidently assailing us to accomplish our overthrow and destruction.
>
> …The issue which has thus been forced upon us compels us to resort to the great first law of self-preservation, and stand in our own defense….Therefore I, Brigham Young, governor…in the Territory of Utah forbid:
>
> First. All armed forces of every description from coming into this Territory…
>
> Second. That all forces in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice to repel any and all such invasion.

became necessary. By the time the scouts returned it was no longer necessary to flee the army. Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

[32] Robert Taylor Burton was born October 25, 1821, and began his military career upon enlisting in the Nauvoo Legion in 1844. He rejoined the Nauvoo Legion in Utah and participated in campaigns to protect settlers from hostile Indians. Burton was a member of the handcart rescue companies in 1856. His commission as colonel came in June 1857 just weeks before he learned of the approaching army. He went on to hold a number of prominent military, civic, legislative, and religious positions prior to his death on November 11, 1907. Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:238-41. See also Janet Burton Seegmiller, *Be kind to the poor: the life story of Robert Taylor Burton* (Cedar City: Robert T. Burton Family Organization, 1988).

[33] Wells, *The Contributor*, III: 177-78.

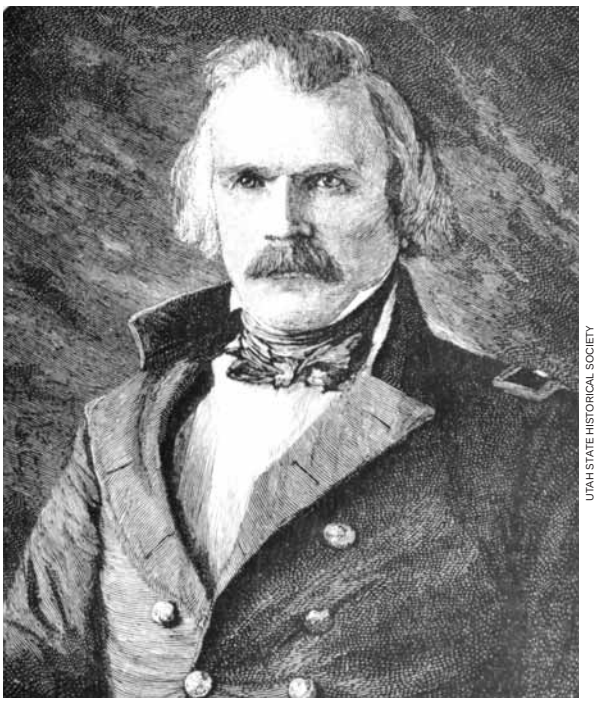
[34] Ibid., 178-79.

[35] "Instructions to Captain Van Vliet," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 36-38.

[36] "Conversations of Pres. Young and Capt. Van Vliet," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 44-47.

> Third. Martial law is hereby declared to exist…and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass into or through or from the Territory without a permit from the proper officer.[37]

Despite receiving Governor Young's proclamation and the recommendations of Van Vliet, Col. Alexander decided that the army would resume its march towards the Salt Lake Valley. As soon as it was known that Alexander chose to continue, the orders for Burton's brigade were promptly altered from an assignment as a passive "corps of observation" to one of an aggressive band of stalkers. In addition, the entire Nauvoo Legion was called out.



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Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, depicted here, was appointed by President James Buchanan to command the Utah Expedition, replacing Gen. William S. Harney.

The fortification of Echo Canyon became the primary focus for the Legion in preparing for the incoming army and played a major role in deterring Alexander from taking the direct route into the Salt Lake Valley. On September 29, General Daniel H. Wells made the forty-mile trek from Salt Lake City to Echo Canyon where he established headquarters. Known as the Eastern Expedition, 1,250 men of the Nauvoo Legion with provisions for thirty days were ordered to a section of the canyon called the "Narrows." Under the direction of Colonel Nathaniel V. Jones, these men became "busily employed in digging military ditches from side to side" which were intended to be "obstacles to an advancing army" as well as "covered ways or communications, wherein reinforcements might move from side to side as desired."[38] Trenches were dug and a network of dams was constructed to store water that could be released to flood the road

[37] "Proclamation of Governor Young," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition,* 63-65.

[38] R.W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," 364. Nathaniel Vary Jones joined the LDS church in Wisconsin as a teenager and arrived in Nauvoo in 1842. He served a mission to the eastern states and worked on the Nauvoo Temple before enlisting in the Mormon Battalion while moving west. Jones arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1849 and assumed various military and ecclesiastical leadership positions. In the late summer of 1857 Jones was appointed colonel and assigned to Echo Canyon and by spring he was one of a few to remain as a guard in charge of an abandoned Salt Lake City, the rest of the Saints having removed south when the arrival of the army into the valley became imminent. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:368-69.

through the canyon should the army attempt to pass. Brigham Young directed the men to "take with you crowbars picks & spades for the purpose of loosening up rocks from the tops of cliffs that may be hurled down to good effect when the signal is given for the same."[39] Breastworks were designed as a protection from enemy bullets and to provide support for the loosened boulders that were prepared to crush Johnston's troops. Thus, despite persistent orders throughout the campaign from Mormon leaders to refrain from firing at the opposition except in self-defense, Echo Canyon tactics were designed to be far more aggressive and injurious. If the army made it to Echo Canyon before winter, conditions were in place for the affair to quickly degenerate from harmless harassment into deadly violence.

Echo Canyon was the last line of defense to fend off the army and desperate measures were planned should the army reach the stronghold before winter. Echo Canyon was selected for fortification because it was the most direct route from Fort Bridger (in present-day Wyoming) to Salt Lake City, and its steep canyons provided the perfect setting for ambush and concealment. Rumors of the ruggedness of Echo Canyon and the number of troops on duty there were exaggerated in the minds of the army officers largely due to the reports of Van Vliet and mountaineers traveling east. Mormons made it a point to create and circulate an intimidating picture of a mighty and threatening fortress. Convinced that the Echo Canyon route was too risky, Colonel Alexander and his senior advisors elected on October 11 to deviate from their course and travel north up Ham's Fork to invade Utah via Soda Springs in present-day Idaho. One of the soldiers, Captain Jesse A. Gove, convinced that the army had outsmarted the Mormons, commented:

> Tomorrow we strike the Oregon road, which I am told, is very good. It takes the Mormons perfectly by surprise that we have avoided their strongholds, Echo Cañon and Emigrant Cañon, Fort Bridger and Supply. Our distance this way is nearly double than through the cañons, but our progress cannot be stayed this way by any natural defences. If the Lord gives us 25 days of good weather we have them tight.[40]

The Soda Springs idea was soon abandoned and Alexander headed back down Ham's Fork. Upon learning of Alexander's new route, General Wells commanded Colonel Robert T. Burton and Major Joseph Taylor to get ahead of the troops on the Oregon Trail and annoy them in every possible way. Great effort was exerted to create the impression that the hills were full of Mormons: large numbers of tracks were left on the Oregon Trail for the army to see, outposts were established at safe distances, and the grass was burned leaving little feed for the expedition's horses and cattle.[41] Discouraged by the grim outlook of the northern route, Alexander decided

[39] Brigham Young to Major [John] Sharp, September 28, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

[40] Jesse A. Gove, *The Utah Expedition 1857-1858: Letters of Captain Jesse A. Gove* (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 76.

[41] R.W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," 366.

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The Utah Expedition encountered severe weather conditions for soldiers and their horses.

to retrace his steps back down Ham's Fork. The return trip was an arduous one wherein the soldiers endured harsh weather and weary animals. Alexander's decision to journey along Ham's Fork served as a clear victory for Mormons and resulted in the army's loss of more than three weeks time and prevented a potentially dangerous showdown in Echo Canyon from taking place. Young was elated with the Army's detour and taunted Alexander in a letter asking, "Inasmuch as you consider your force so amply sufficient to enable you to come to this city, why have you so unwisely dallied so long on Ham's Fork, at this late season of the year?"[42]

As the fortification of Echo Canyon began, General Wells pressed on towards Fort Bridger where a council of war was held on October 3 with officers of the Legion including Robert T. Burton, Joseph Taylor, Lot Smith, J.D.T. McAllister, Porter Rockwell, and Lewis Robison.[43] Decisions made at Fort Bridger had a drastic effect on the army in the coming months. First, fearing that the fort might fall into the hands of the enemy and aid them in some way, General Wells ordered that Fort Bridger and

[42] Brigham Young to Edmund B. Alexander, October 16, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

[43] R.W. Young, "The Nauvoo Legion," 364; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, October 25, 1857; Brigham Young's journal entry for October 3, 1857, lists Brigham Young, Jr. as being present at the council as well, CR 1234/1, Brigham Young Office Journal, [Sept.] 27, 1857, and Oct. 1-13, 1857, LDS Church Archives.

Fort Supply, occupied by Mormons for less than five years, be burned to the ground. Fort Supply was established twelve miles southwest of Fort Bridger in 1853 in response to a church assignment for the creation of a colony in the Green River Valley. In August 1855 Lewis Robison purchased Fort Bridger on behalf of the church from Louis Vasquez and famed mountaineer Jim Bridger for eight thousand dollars.[44] It served primarily as an outpost for Mormon immigrants on their way to the Salt Lake Valley. Wasting no time, Lewis Robison torched Fort Bridger just hours after the council of war concluded. Fort Supply was burned the next day after Mormons harvested and cached most of the crops for future use. The burning of these two forts is evidence that Mormons were willing to do anything to hinder the army's progress, for Robison estimated the "damage at Fort Bridger at $2000 and the damage at Fort Supply at $50,000."[45]

Secondly, and perhaps the most important tactic employed by the Nauvoo Legion, was the deployment of the Mormon raiders. Porter Rockwell and a small band of men were dispatched to join Major McAllister in southeast Idaho to watch for any troops moving along the Oregon Trail and seize the "enemys cattle" if possible and "if not to fire the Country."[46] Furthermore, before leaving Fort Bridger General Wells approached Major Lot Smith and asked him if he thought he could "take a few men and turn back the trains that were on the road or burn them."[47] The orders given to Lot Smith undoubtedly mirrored those given to Joseph Taylor:

> Proceed at once to annoy them in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them, and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprises; blockade the road by felling trees or destroying river fords; where you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass on their windward, so as if possible to envelope their trains….Keep scouts out at all times….Keep me advised daily of your movements.[48]

That afternoon Smith gathered forty-four men and rode east with no provisions for they "were expected to board at the expense of Uncle Sam."[49]

[44] See Fred R. Gowans, "Fort Bridger and the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1974): 49-67. Robison made a down payment of four thousand dollars at the time of purchase in 1855 with the remaining four thousand dollars to be paid later. The final payment was not made until October 18, 1858, more than a year after Fort Bridger was burned down by Robison.

[45] Journal History, October 25, 1857, 15.

[46] Hamilton Gardner, ed., "A Territorial Militiaman in the Utah War: Journal of Newton Tuttle," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (October 1954), 306.

[47] Lot Smith narrative in "The Echo Canyon War," *The Contributor* III (1882), 272. Smith's account was dictated from memory to Junius F. Wells and published serially in *The Contributor* III-IV (1882-1883): III:271-74; IV:27-29, 47-50, 167-69, 224-26. Smith's narrative may also be found in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition* , 220-46. Smith marched to California as a member of the Mormon Battalion when he was a mere sixteen years old. His life following the Utah War included missions to Great Britain and Arizona. Smith served as president of the Little Colorado Stake from 1878-1887. He was killed by Indians in northeast Arizona in 1892. For a biographical sketch of Smith see Charles S. Peterson, "A Portrait of Lot Smith—Mormon Frontiersman," *Western Historical Quarterly* 1 (October 1970): 393-414.

[48] "General D.H. Wells Orders to Major Joseph Taylor," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition* , 161-62.

[49] Smith to Wells, *The Contributor* III (1882), 272.

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Members of the Utah Territorial Militia (Nauvoo Legion) make ready to confront the U.S. army.

The most damaging of the raids occurred on the Big Sandy Creek. Upon coming across two large supply trains, Smith "inquired for the captain of the train." As soon as Mr. Dawson stepped out, Major Smith told him to get all of his men and their personal belongings out of the wagons so he could set them ablaze. Dawson pleaded with Smith, "For God's sake, don't burn the trains." Smith replied, "It was for His sake that I was going to burn them." Major Smith proceeded from one wagon to the next and ordered the men to come out one by one, stack their weapons, and huddle together under guard. Upon emptying the wagons of all the provisions his band of raiders needed, Smith "made a torch" and rode from wagon to wagon setting them on fire, warning Dawson and his men that if they "undertook to put the fire out, they would be instantly killed."[50] In all, Lot Smith and his men destroyed fifty-one wagons before heading to the Green River near Simpson's Hollow and setting fire to another government supply train consisting of twenty-three wagons.

The Big Sandy and Green River raids not only deflated Alexander and his troops but they greatly depleted their supplies. According to Leonard J. Arrington, "the supplies destroyed included 68,832 rations of dessicated vegetables, 4 tons of bread, 4 tons of coffee, 84 tons of flour, 46 tons of bacon, 3,000 gallons of vinegar, and 7 tons of soap—enough to last the entire expedition three months."[51] These seventy-four wagons were the only ones to be seized by the Mormons for upon their return to the Sandy the raiders simply "met no more trains." Brigham Young noted that this was fortunate for both parties "for if we had burned another train we would

[50] Ibid., 273. It should be noted that the validity of this statement, related to Junius F. Wells by Lot Smith more than two decades after the raid, is perhaps questionable since it fails to appear in any contemporary accounts.

[51] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 178.

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Members of the Utah Territorial Militia (Nauvoo Legion) in camp.

have been compelled before the end of the winter to feed the enemy to keep them from starving."[52] Oddly enough, Young on another occasion commented "that his natural feelings were not to destroy property, and he thought that if he had been in the mountains, he would not have given his consent to the burning of the Government Wagons, but still he believed that it was the best thing that could have been done."[53] This comment reveals a certain degree of latitude extant among the legionnaires on the eve of the showdown with the army. While seemingly rigid orders were frequently dispatched under the hand of Wells and Young, circumstances permitted individuals like Lot Smith to use their own discretion. Ultimately, Brigham Young was in charge of the Legion but his remoteness from the events cultivated a spirit of autonomy among Legion members. The ensuing flexibility produced effective officers apt to make decisions on the run and adapt to a variety of circumstances.

The Mormon raiders regularly resorted to stealing the army's cattle. Lot Smith and his band took "a hundred and fifty head" of cattle after burning the first supply trains, and drove them into the Salt Lake Valley. A few days later Major Smith happened to meet Porter Rockwell and his thirty men, increasing Smith's command to nearly eighty men. With his cavalry strengthened, Major Smith concluded that he could storm the cattle of the main camp at Ham's Fork. Upon arriving at Ham's Fork they "discovered a herd of cattle numbering about fourteen hundred head." Smith led the charge and when they reached the cattle they "gave a shout, such as imported steers had never heard before…. The guards were frightened as badly as the cattle and looked as pale as death."[54] Several hundred of Uncle

[52] Smith to Wells, *The Contributor* IV:48. Johnston soon offered $150.00 to his soldiers "for every mormon [sic] they would bring him and $1000.00 for Lot Smith." Historian's Office Journal, April 9, 1858, LDS Church Archives.

[53] Historian's Office Journal, October 4, 1859, LDS Church Archives.

[54] Smith to Wells, *The Contributor*, IV: 49.

Sam's cattle were taken and driven into the Salt Lake Valley by Rockwell and a few others.

John I. Ginn, an army teamster who traveled with the Utah Expedition, explained how the Mormons stole nearly 1,200 head of cattle on one occasion: "One windy day, while the army was encamped on the vast and dry grass plain on upper Ham's Fork, with the cattle feeding below, one band of Mormons set a long line of fire across the plain above and to the windward of the camp, and while every available man and blanket was despatched in that direction to fight the fire, another large band of mounted Mormons dashed in among the cattle below and drove them away in a hurry."[55] These raids and the general harassment of the army began to take its toll on the progress and morale of the officers and men as revealed by the following accounts. Captain Jesse A. Gove wrote, "The Mormons are hovering about us in large numbers seeking an opportunity to run off our animals."[56] Ginn added, "The knowledge that the whole command would soon have to go on greatly reduced rations…and the rapid approach of winter, caused a good deal of unrest and uneasiness among both soldiers and citizens attached to the armh [*sic*]."[57]

Henry S. Hamilton recalled just what a nuisance the Mormons became to the army explaining:

> The Mormons…trouble us considerably, impeding our progress in various ways, and making it as difficult for us as possible. Every day when coming to camp they would set the grass on fire, using long torches, and riding swift horses, so that before pitching tents we always had to fight fire. They destroyed so much of it that the animals had to be driven some distance to get feed….They hovered around daily, watching and taking every advantage of us, feeling safe in their tactics, knowing our inability to cope with them, as we had no cavalry.[58]

This strategy of burning the grass left the horses and cattle little feed forcing the herders to drive the livestock long distances to graze. These grass fires were a common tactic throughout the conflict and federal soldiers became accustomed to being "followed by a party of mounted Mormons" and seeing "Mormons burning the grass in sight of us."[59] As a result, the animals became weak and hundreds of them died due to a lack of pasturage. With a scarcity of horses and oxen, movement of supplies became even more difficult for the army.

[55] John L. Ginn, "Mormon and Indian Wars: the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and other tragedies and transactions incident to the Mormon rebellion of 1857. Together with the personal recollection of a civilian who witnessed many of the thrilling scenes described by Captain John L. Ginn" unpublished manuscript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 15. Conflicting sources list Ginn as John I. or John L. Ginn. See William P. MacKinnon's article in this issue, "Unquestionaly Authentic and Correct in Every Detail: Probing John I. Ginn and His Remarkable Utah War Story."

[56] Gove, *The Utah Expedition*, 77.

[57] Ginn, "Mormon and Indian Wars," 10-11.

[58] Henry S. Hamilton, *Reminiscences of a Veteran* (Concord, N.H.: Republican Press Association, 1897), 80-81.

[59] Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis, eds. "Charles A. Scott's Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1960): 164.

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Col. Robert Taylor Burton, shown here on his 80th birthday, 1901, was ordered to harass the U.S. Army near Fort Bridger in the fall and early winter 1857.

One crucial advantage for the Nauvoo Legion was intimidation. Orders issued to the Legion admonished the men to be prepared "for operating in the night, picking off picket guards and sentinels and rousing up the camp as often as it becomes quiet…by which plan the enemy will be but in sorry plight for marching or fighting fresh forces on the succeeding day, and will doubtless soon surrender or be subdued."[60] The night surprises struck fear and terror into the camps of the army. On one occasion soldiers were awakened at 2:00 a.m. by shots being fired in their camp. Immediately, a whole "herd of mules stampeded with a terrific rush" and "the whole camp was in commotion." As a result of this surprise attack one man reportedly "died of fright."[61] Another encounter occurred during a cattle raid under Lot Smith's command. After returning from rounding up some of the cattle the soldiers asked Smith if he would give them back their arms. Lot Smith did not recall ever ordering them to shed their weapons, and after further inquiry he discovered that "on seeing us coming down the bluff, so much like a lot of wild men, they threw their guns away, someone saying that if we found them unarmed we would spare their lives."[62] Smith permitted them to retrieve their arms and rode off. Experiences like these bolstered the Mormons' confidence in the conflict while diminishing the morale of the army.

With such a vast army in his charge, Colonel Alexander did little to apprehend Smith's band of raiders. Obviously, Alexander was not very familiar with the geography of the region and perhaps he did not deem it sensible to pursue the Mormons on their turf. Yet, there appears to have been a more prominent reason for Alexander's lack of retaliation. When Alexander assumed command of the army in Johnston's absence, he apparently was not granted full authority as evidenced by the following letter written to the former governor of the territory of New Mexico, W.W.H. Davis:

In regard to the Mormon campaign. I believe with you that the whole business was

[60] Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, John Taylor, and George A. Smith, October 9, 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, LDS Church Archives.

[61] Gove, *The Utah Expedition*, 64-65.

[62] Smith to Wells, *The Contributor* IV:49.

> very badly managed; not on the part of the government however, but on that of the original commander of the expedition i.e. Genrl Harney.
>
> ….The expedition started without sufficient supplies, late in the season and worse than all without orders what to do.—Col Alexander had to look on when the Mormons burnt the grass, unable to prevent it, as he had no orders in regard to the Mormons and might have got himself into a nice scrape if he had shot any of them.
>
> ….Had the expedition started at the proper time and with the numerical strength ordered and had the supplies been furnished as they might have been, I have no doubt that our troops would have been in Salt Lake before winter.
>
> The authority given to Genrl Harney was almost unlimited; the whole supplying department was put under his orders and had he tried he could have started at the proper time and with sufficient supplies.[63]

Alexander was thrust into a difficult situation as a leader of a massive infantry over which he lacked any specific orders or authority. General Harney left the expedition and his replacement, Albert Sidney Johnston, with whom Alexander had no way to communicate, did not arrive until November. This proved advantageous to the Mormons, for Alexander assumed the difficult task of commanding a third of the U.S. Army under volatile circumstances without orders from his superiors. Alexander had no choice but to "look on" as the Mormon militia wreaked havoc upon his troops. Ambiguity plagued the army prior to Johnston's arrival. Without orders Alexander's hands were tied, and the success of the Mormon raids can be attributed to the lack of aggression on the army's part, which was a direct result of Alexander's not knowing what to do.

Alexander was also handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the strength and potential effectiveness of the militia force. When captured by federal troops, Joseph Taylor and William Stowell lied to Colonel Alexander concerning the strength of the Nauvoo Legion. Questioned separately, Taylor claimed the Legion numbered 20,000 to 25,000 "good warriors," while Stowell inflated the number of their forces to 30,000 "with quite an amount of artillery."[64] In reality the Nauvoo Legion never surpassed 2,500 soldiers at one time, yet one of Colonel Alexander's men estimated Major Lot Smith's command to number 500, "while in fact the…number never exceeded at any one time one hundred, and generally was not half that many."[65] The following anecdotes demonstrate how the Mormons were able to create the illusion of great numbers of soldiers on two occasions.

The first account comes from Major Lot Smith's narrative, as he and his

[63] JW Parthoff to W.W.H. Davis, May 2, 1858, W.W.H. Davis Papers, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Davis was U.S. district attorney, attorney general, secretary of the territory, superintendent of public buildings, and superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory of New Mexico from 1853-1857 as well as acting governor in 1857. Parthoff was most likely a civilian government employee in New Mexico during Davis' tenure in the territory. The author thanks Steven Sorensen at the LDS Church Archives for bringing this letter to my attention and making it available for use in this article.

[64] Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 4:290 ff.; Journal History, November 16, 1857, 4.

[65] Smith to Wells, *The Contributor* IV:48.

band of raiders came to the Big Sandy River to attack one of the supply trains. After spotting the train a few of Major Smith's scouts went to investigate and reported twenty-six wagons with about forty men. Smith explained that:

> On nearing the wagons, I found I had misunderstood the scouts, for instead of one train of twenty-six wagons there were two, doubling the number of men.... There was a large camp-fire burning, and a number of men were standing around it smoking.... I arranged my men, and we advanced until our horses' heads came into the light of the fire then I discovered that we had the advantage, for looking back into the darkness, I could not see where my line of troops ended, and could imagine my twenty followers stringing out to a hundred or more as well as not.[66]

In describing the incident David A. Burr, a correspondent for the *New York Times,* wrote the teamsters reported that, "The party which surrounded the wagons consisted of about 80 men but there was about 300 around the camp a short distance off."[67] Smith maintained that he had a mere twenty-three men in his command at the time, fewer than what the teamsters reported to Burr.

Another example occurred in the spring of 1858 when appointed Governor Alfred Cumming was escorted to Salt Lake City to meet Brigham Young. Insisting that the journey through Echo Canyon be made at night, Mormons set bonfires from one end of the canyon to the other and had a number of men march round and round the fires to give the appearance of a vast army. Armed soldiers greeted the governor at three different encampments, presenting their arms in honor of his arrival. At these camps the governor stopped and delivered an address, promising that the conflict would soon be over. Little did he know that he was speaking to the same soldiers on each of the three occasions. Upon hearing his speech at the first encampment, the soldiers "were dismissed and hurried down to the second encampment to again solemnly receive the governor in military array, and again hear his speech . . . and so again at the third encampment this performance was repeated." Afterwards, the governor conversed with some men in Salt Lake City and observed that the reception he received in Echo Canyon "outstripped anything he had ever expected to see."[68] The scheme was designed to convince Governor Cumming "who would of course inform General Johnston, that the little force...was altogether unequal to the mighty host confronting him, and that he had done a wise thing in not attempting to force a passage through the mountains."[69]

In November 1857 Mormons had luck on their side, for an unseasonably cold winter came a month early. On their trek to Fort Bridger the army was struck by a violent storm that left "a great depth" of snow on the

[66] Ibid., III:272.

[67] David A. Burr Papers, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, as quoted in Flake, *A Study of Mormon Resistance During the Utah War*, 59.

[68] Roberts, *Comprehensive History* 4: 378-79.

[69] Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1916), 2:153.

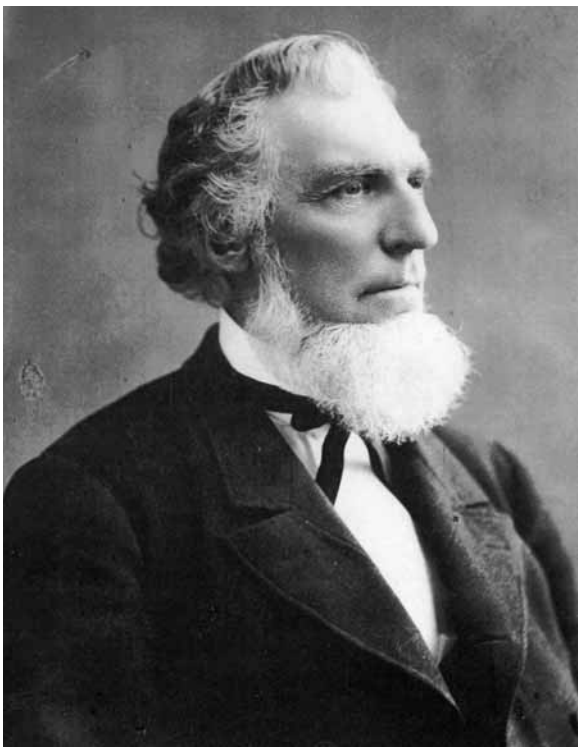
ground. On one night one of the soldiers recorded that "five hundred of the animals perished" due to the cold and lack of forage. Captain Jesse A. Gove wrote, "Hundreds of animals die every twenty four hours." With the onset of winter all hopes of reaching Salt Lake City were deserted and the army established winter quarters. Upon reaching Fort Bridger in mid-November, Henry S. Hamilton said the army was "much surprised . . . to find nothing but four bare walls" which "looked a very dreary place in which to winter, with nothing but tents to shelter us from the cold." Finding a burned out Fort Bridger only added to the frustration of the ailing soldiers. One camp was established at the scorched remains of Fort Bridger while headquarters was founded two miles south at Camp Scott. With limited provisions, the army was to pass the winter "amid privations no less severe than those endured at Valley Forge eighty-one years before," and the thermometer often "far below zero" with animals "dying rapidly."[70]

When it was clear that the army had set up winter quarters, General Wells "gave order to pack up & go home–except a small number that were to stay as guards."[71] The entire Nauvoo Legion was demobilized with the exception of Captain John R. Winder and a company of fifty men who remained as an outpost in Echo Canyon. Within a few days the company was reduced to ten: three men at Yellow Creek, three or four at the mouth of Echo Canyon, and a few men on the road. After an intense few months the Legion's objective—to keep the army in the mountains during the winter in order to allow time for intervention and negotiations to commence—was achieved. The strategy and conduct of the Mormons over the fall of 1857 successfully delayed the army to the point that the arrival of winter found Johnston's army much farther from the Salt Lake Valley than they had anticipated, and they were left no option but to postpone their occupation of Utah. This allowed for some indispensable mediation by an esteemed friend of the Mormons to take place during the winter.

Thomas L. Kane's sympathetic feelings towards the Mormons had their beginning more than a decade before he received Brigham Young's urgent request for assistance in August 1857. Kane first approached President Buchanan concerning the Utah Expedition three months later in November. While Buchanan welcomed intervention, he was unwilling to send an official representative, thus Kane became a self-appointed arbitrator to reconcile Mormons and the United States government. Traveling to Utah incognito as Dr. Osborne, Kane set sail from New York in January 1858 traveling to Los Angeles by ship and then overland to Salt Lake City. After meeting with Brigham Young in late February and early March 1858, Kane made his way to Camp Scott to persuade Governor Cumming to go back with him to Salt Lake City without the troops. Despite Col.

[70] Hamilton, *Reminiscences of a Veteran*, 85-87; Gove, *The Utah Expedition*, 90-94; Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 522.

[71] "Diary of John Pulsipher," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 210.



CHARLES R. SAVAGE PHOTOGRAPHER, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Gen. Daniel H. Wells, shown here in civilian attire, ordered Utah territorial militia to harass Johnston's army at Fort Bridger and nearby Camp Scott.

Johnston's disapproval, Cumming accompanied Kane to the city where he was affably welcomed as the Territory's new governor. Shortly thereafter, Thomas Kane returned to Washington D.C. to consult with President Buchanan about how to handle the situation in Utah.[72]

In April 1858 President Buchanan gave in to the criticism by Congress and the press, as well as the urgings of Van Vliet and Utah delegate John Bernhisel, and sent a peace commission to Utah consisting of Benjamin McCulloch and Senator-elect Lazarus W. Powell.[73] The commissioners brought with them a signed "Proclamation of Pardon" and were instructed to issue it only if conditions justified them to do so. In the document Buchanan accused Mormons of treason and referred to numerous charges brought against them but promised a full pardon to all those in Utah who would submit to the laws and cease their rebellion against the United States.[74] Church leaders grudgingly accepted the pardon, maintaining that the accusations of mutiny were nothing more than unfounded rumors. Hence, with the acceptance of Buchanan's pardon and the passing of the federal army under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston through Salt Lake City in late June 1858 en route to establish Camp Floyd southwest of Salt Lake Valley the conflict known as the Utah War ended.

Many factors worked to prevent the Utah Expedition of 1857-58 from

[72] Richard D. Poll, "Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1993): 112-35.

[73] The issue was debated at length by Congress following the introduction of a bill in early 1858 that called for an increase of the nation's army. None were more outspoken against Buchanan's war than Senator Sam Houston who dubbed the expedition as an "intolerable evil," and was "satisfied that the Executive has not had the information he ought to have had on this subject before making such a movement." Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 258.

[74] "A Proclamation," in Hafen and Hafen, *The Utah Expedition*, 332-37.

becoming a full-blown war. Undoubtedly, the time lost due to the army's late start coupled with the early arrival of winter lessened the chances for head to head combat between the Mormons and the United States forces. Moreover, the absence of any specific orders pertaining to authority or plan of action from his superiors left Alexander unsure as to what to do. This resulted in Alexander's rash decision to take the north route via Ham's Fork, thus ensuring that he and his corps of troops would not reach Echo Canyon before winter's arrival. Yet, all factors considered, the determined efforts and unanticipated stratagem of the Nauvoo Legion proved valuable in preventing violence and tragedy. Colonel Alexander's decision to try entering the Salt Lake Valley by way of the Oregon Trail, a road one hundred miles longer than the direct route through Echo Canyon, was made because of the harassment of the Mormon raiders and fear of the canyon. The Nauvoo Legion hindered the army's progress for three months by annoying them with the tactics of night surprises, stealing cattle, destroying supplies, blocking roads with trees, and burning the country before them so that animals had little to feed on. Provisions became a serious concern with the burning of seventy-four of the army's freight wagons and the seizure of 1,400 of the 2,000 head of cattle that accompanied the expedition. The guerrilla warfare, fortification of Echo Canyon, as well as the fear and intimidation that sprung from these tactics throughout the fall of 1857, successfully frustrated and averted the army leaving General Johnston no choice but to squander the winter away in the mountains and suspend his invasion of Utah. Tensions swelled on both sides and conditions were ideal for a deadly confrontation. While the Mormon policy was to harass and hinder without any bloodshed, a far more damaging strategy governed Echo Canyon in the case that the army made it that far in the fall. On the other side, one of Johnston's soldiers predicted that the Mormons' days were numbered for they would "sweep them from the face of the earth" if they chose to fight.[75] Fortunately, the army failed to reach Echo Canyon and the onset of winter provided the opportunity for intervention by Thomas L. Kane and the investigation of President Buchanan's Peace Commission. The Legion bought the time needed for Mormon and United States authorities to come to a mutual understanding, and consequentially, a peaceful agreement. Had it not been for the encumbering actions of the Nauvoo Legion the Utah Expedition of 1857-58 would surely be ranked among the most disastrous episodes in the history of the American West.

[75] Gove, *The Utah Expedition*, 58.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Unquestionably Authentic and Correct in Every Detail": Probing John I. Ginn and His Remarkable Utah War Story

By WILLIAM P. MACKINNON

For the past seventy years a small band of Utah historians—Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney, Juanita L. Brooks, and Harold Schindler—have tantalized students of the Utah War with vivid accounts of Porter Rockwell in action, the Mountain Meadows massacre and the fate of the Aiken party.[1]

Salt Lake City's Main Street a few years after John I. Ginn's visit during the Utah War.

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This article is an adaptation of a paper presented at the Mormon History Association's May 2004 annual meeting in Provo. The author thanks Patricia H. MacKinnon for her encouragement, understanding, and support as well as Orem genealogist-historian Ardis E. Parshall for her administrative and research help.

[1] The Utah War of 1857-58 was the armed conflict between Mormon leaders and U.S. President James Buchanan over power and authority in Utah Territory. Ultimately the struggle pitted nearly one-third of the U.S. Army against Brigham Young's Utah territorial militia in a guerrilla campaign until a non-violent settlement resolved the military aspects of the affair. Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960); my "Utah Expedition, or Utah War," in *New Encyclopedia of the American West*, edited by Howard R. Lamar (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 1149-51; my "Utah War (1857-1858)," in *Ground Warfare: An International Encyclopedia*, edited by Stanley L. Sandler (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002), 913-14.

They have done so with excerpts drawn from the unpublished, archivally-housed writings of "Captain" John I. Ginn, a Utah War participant with a near-unique perspective as a civilian army employee, a captive of the Nauvoo Legion, and one of the first non-Mormons to see the aftermath of the carnage at Mountain Meadows.[2]

From these archival snippets we have a drover's account of the Utah Expedition's march across the plains, Ginn's even rarer up-close description of the legendary Porter Rockwell as Nauvoo Legion raider in the Green River district, and a portrait of Salt Lake City during the eerie period following Brigham Young's September 15, 1857 proclamation of martial law. Even more important is Ginn's account of the Aiken party's captivity in Salt Lake City during the fall of 1857 and its assassination south of the city two months after the Mountain Meadows massacre, the aftermath of which Ginn saw during his passage through that horrific, body-strewn site en route to southern California. In sum, Ginn's is an account of many of the people who produced the bulk of the campaign's atrocities in borderland Utah during September-November 1857. As such, Ginn's narrative, notwithstanding its complexities and even inaccuracies, provides a rare context for understanding the conflict and the times that spawned this violence. It is a narrative that prompted Juanita Brooks to comment that "Ginn's story reads like a Wild West thriller."[3]

With the 2003 publication of Steven E. Farley's useful but nevertheless limited book, *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre: From the Diary of John I. Ginn*, large segments of this widely-scattered codex are now easily accessible for the first time.[4] Accordingly, the time has come to examine seriously who Ginn was, what and how he wrote, and how explorers of the violent Utah War period might use this complex source material. The pur-

The Mountain Meadows massacre, the campaign's worst atrocity, was the September 11, 1857 execution at point blank range of 120 infants, women, and unarmed men by Nauvoo Legionnaires and Paiute auxiliaries as they passed peacefully through isolated southern Utah on their way to California from Arkansas. This atrocity was the greatest incident of organized mass murder of unarmed white civilians in American history until the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. See Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) and Juanita L. Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; 2d ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

The Aikens were six well-outfitted civilian Californians who entered Utah from the west during the fall of 1857 in an attempt to capitalize on the army's approach by setting up a gambling operation at Fort Bridger. Arrested by officers of the Nauvoo Legion near Ogden, they were confined in Salt Lake City, released, and then fatally attacked in mid-November by assassins south of the city in order to strip them of large amounts of cash, horses, and even their clothes. Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: man of God, son of thunder*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 268-81.

[2] See Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney, *Holy Murder: The Story of Porter Rockwell* (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1934), 147-53, 158-63, 169-73, and 180-81; Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 127-30 and 147; and Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell*, 240, 255-56, 259, 265-67, and 271-73.

[3] See William P. MacKinnon, "'Lonely Bones': The Utah War's Other Atrocities, A Context for the Mountain Meadows Massacre," unpublished paper presented at the Western History Association's October 2003 annual meeting in Fort Worth, Texas (copy available at the Utah State Historical Society Library); Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 127.

[4] Steven E. Farley, *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre: from the Diary of John I. Ginn* (Bloomington, IN: 1stBooks Library, 2003).

pose of this article is to probe these areas and, in so doing, to provide the first reasonably complete picture of Ginn's heretofore fragmentary life story and poorly-understood narrative.

Until relatively recently, what has been known about John Ginn has been confined to the scraps that he revealed about himself in his virtually inaccessible manuscript: that he was born in the mid-1830s in Acworth (Cobb County), Georgia; served as an apprentice printer in Montgomery, Alabama; migrated west to the Missouri-Kansas frontier in 1856 with the intent to reach California; joined W.M.F. Magraw's Pacific Wagon Road crew in Independence; and left it in disarray at Fort Laramie during the summer of 1857 to become a civilian drover for the Utah Expedition's Tenth U.S. Infantry.[5] Subsequently perceiving that the army would not be able to force the passes into Salt Lake City during 1857, Ginn quit his army employment at Ham's Fork of the Green River and then pushed on toward Salt Lake City and California.

In the mountains near Fort Bridger—burned by the Mormons in early October—Ginn was captured and threatened by troops of the Nauvoo Legion. Almost immediately he came under the protective custody of Brigham Young's famous bodyguard, Captain Orrin Porter Rockwell, whom Ginn claimed to have saved from a lynching attempt in Magraw's camp weeks earlier. Still under Rockwell's protection, Ginn had the run of Salt Lake City during the fall of 1857 as the star boarder in the home of Apostle John Taylor's mother. What came with that freedom was the opportunity to interact with the members of the Aiken party during their detention there. In early November—with Utah under locally-imposed martial law—Ginn obtained a travel pass from Brigham Young to continue his journey to California.

With a five-wagon train of non-Mormon merchants and adventurers, he traveled in the wake of the Baker-Fancher party by eight weeks but only a few days ahead of the doomed Aikens. They took the southern route through Fillmore, Corn Creek, Cedar City, Pinto, Mountain Meadows, the Santa Clara, the Muddy, and the Mormon lead-mining mission at Las Vegas. Jacob Hamblin, the famous Mormon frontiersman and missionary-interpreter hand-selected by Brigham Young for this trip, guided Ginn and his companions through repeated threats of Indian attack and, with hind-sight, a dangerously agitated Mormon population. Ginn's account of his

[5] Because Ginn's manuscript cites only his age during the Utah War (twenty-one), there has been ambiguity about his birth year. Farley, for example, lists 1837. Ginn's obituary indicates that December 25, 1835 was his date of birth, and his death certificate lists December 1835. Unfortunately Ginn's description of what must have been interesting experiences during the summer of 1857 with Magraw's party is brief. For a description of the conflict and turbulence that beset that operation under Magraw's superintendency and its subsequent linkage to the Utah Expedition, see William P. MacKinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W.M.F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 127-50; and W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 191-217.

cross-country journey and personal life ends with the description of his early December 1857 arrival in San Bernardino.[6]

During the twentieth century additional biographical information surfaced at odd intervals. For example, in 1934 Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney explained Ginn's use of the title "captain" in terms of post-Utah service in the California militia.[7] Fifty years later, in 1983, Harold Schindler added the fact that Ginn's middle name was Ingranam, a usage undoubtedly derived from the maiden name of Ginn's Irish-born mother, Mary.[8] With Schindler's brief, one-paragraph biographical sketch we also learn that during the 1860s and 1870s Ginn worked as printer, editor, or publisher for a long list of newspapers in California and Nevada mining camps

EL PASO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHIVES

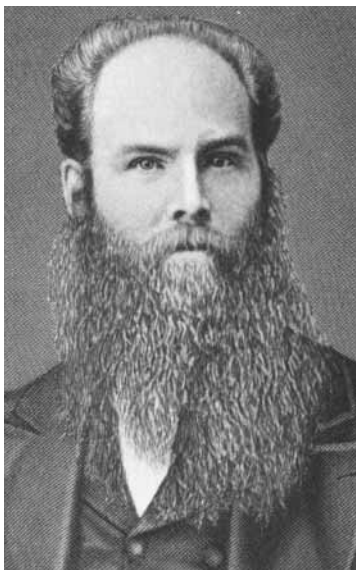
Charles R. Morehead was a companion of John Ginn during the Utah Expedition and later a bank president and mayor in El Paso, Texas.

[6] Farley, *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre*, ix-59.

[7] Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, 148. I have been unable to verify such military service in either California state records or federal military records in the National Archives. Ginn's several obituaries state without elaboration that he was a Civil War veteran. Nineteenth-century Americans had a great love of military titles and often bestowed or assumed them liberally without benefit of army service. Western wagon masters were frequently dubbed "captain," as was Jim Bridger until Col. Albert Sidney Johnston made him the Utah Expedition's chief guide with the status of a major for pay and messing purposes. By virtue of his Pacific Wagon Road superintendency, Magraw assumed the title "colonel."

[8] Schindler, *Rockwell*, 272-73. Schindler determined Ginn's middle name from a travel pass issued to him by Brigham Young on November 3, 1857, the full text of which he published in 1983. In the first (1966) printing of this biography Schindler—as had Kelly and Birney before him—included the text provided by Ginn himself of a similar, but differently phrased and undated pass from Brigham Young which bore Ginn's middle initial ("I"), but not his middle name. Schindler's 1983 spelling of Ginn's middle name—Ingranam—differs slightly from that of his mother's maiden name as it appears on his death certificate—Ingaham. Ginn's father, Sherwood H. Ginn, had been born in Scotland. Family data from John I. Ginn's death certificate in author's possession. Schindler's citation for the pass he quoted in 1983 was Brigham Young Letter Book No. 23, Entries 177 and 180, LDS Church Archives. Another pass varying in three respects from this document (including use of the middle name Ingraham) may be found in Nauvoo Legion (Utah), Adjutant General. Record 1851-1870, p. 107 LDS Church Archives, MS 1370.

The availability of Ginn's middle name should have ended the longstanding differences among archivists and historians as to whether his middle initial was "I," "L," "H," or "J," but they persist. For example, the catalogue entry for Yale's Ginn manuscripts uses "I" as his middle initial, although the document itself bears an "L", that appears to be a typewritten overstrike. Notwithstanding his book's use of "I" in 1934, Charles Kelly became persuaded without explanation by 1959 that "L" was the more appropriate initial, an argument that has affected the cataloguing displays of the Utah State Historical Society and Princeton's Firestone Library to this day. As discussed below the Salt Lake City *Valley Tan's* 1859 use of "J.J.G." as the signature for Ginn's letter discussing the Aiken murders has further muddied these waters. In addition to the use of "I" on the 1857 Brigham Young travel pass, this is the initial that appears throughout the 1907 Morehead-Connelley correspondence, in Ginn's 1916 obituaries and death certificate, and in all other variants of the Ginn manuscript. Accordingly, "I" is the middle initial used throughout this article. For Charles Kelly's comments, some of which are accurate while others are not, see Kelly memorandum ("Notes on the Ginn Journal"), March 25, 1959, Western Americana Collection, Princeton University Library (copy in author's possession courtesy of curator emeritus Alfred L. Bush).



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Lot Smith, Major in the Nauvoo Legion set fire to a wagon train during the Utah War and wrote his reminiscences of his war activities.

before migrating at an unspecified date for an unknown fate in El Paso, Texas.[9]

Further research indicates that Ginn migrated to El Paso in 1886, a time when it was a tough, isolated border town only recently connected by railroad to the rest of the United States. A rapidly rising leader in El Paso's banking, real estate, and political community at that time was recent arrival Charles R. ("Charlie") Morehead, who during 1857 had himself played a little-known but major role in the Utah Expedition as one of Russell, Majors and Waddell's principal field agents. Morehead was the nephew of one of the firm's partners, William H. Russell, and to him had fallen thirty years earlier the task of negotiating Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's sanctioning of the company's work once at Fort Bridger. Morehead also assisted Johnston to recruit what became the Utah Expedition's volunteer battalion from among his firm's hundreds of unemployed teamsters. Morehead would later claim that his December-January return trek with James Rupe to Fort Leavenworth in thirty days would prove the feasibility of a year-round, all-weather Pony Express service, a notion that Russell acted on less than three years later.

Whether Ginn and Morehead first met while crossing the plains during the summer of 1857 or later is unknown. Possibly this friendship grew out of their mutual connection with the El Paso *Times*, in which Morehead had been a founding investor since 1881, while Ginn later served as the newspaper's reporter and city editor. Irrespective of how they met, it is clear that by the turn of the century Morehead, by then El Paso's mayor

[9] Schindler, *Rockwell*, 273n22 lists six Nevada newspapers: the Virginia City *Daily Constitution*, *Daily Safeguard*, *Evening Chronicle*, and *Daily Independent* as well as the Treasure City *White Pine News* and Unionville *Silver State*. Farley, xi-xii, lists some but not all of these papers and adds seven more: Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise*, Reno's *Evening Gazette*, the *Nevada State Journal*, Carson City's *Daily Register*, Gold Hill's *News*, the *People's Advocate*, and the *Daily and Weekly Bodie* [California] *Standard*. Ginn's obituary mentions three additional newspapers: San Francisco's *Argonaut* as well as El Paso's *Herald* and *Times*, and the dateline of Ginn's 1859 letter to Kirk Anderson's *Valley Tan* raises the possibility that he also worked for a seventeenth newspaper, California's Mariposa *Star*.

In addition to expanding Schindler's newspaper list, Farley's contribution to our understanding of Ginn's background has been to provide the outline of his family life, including the names of his wife—the former Katie Musser, a Californian whom he married in that state during 1871 at age thirty-five—and their three children—-Dawn, Hayward, and George—all of whom were born in Virginia City, Nevada, during the period 1872-1876. Farley's fragmentary account of John I. Ginn's later life ends with a notation that in 1880 he was working for the *Daily and Weekly Standard* in Bodie, then one of California's largest mining towns.

and a bank president, and Ginn had become close associates. Joining this small group of Utah War veterans living in El Paso during the period was Parker Burnham, a former private in the Utah Expedition's Tenth Infantry, and "Captain" J.W. Brady, a former teamster with the wagon train burned at Green River in early October 1857 by Major Lot Smith's Nauvoo Legion detachment.[10]

What is also clear is that Ginn continued to pursue actively his long-standing interests in mining as well as journalism. For example, in 1894 an El Paso newspaper reported: "Captain John I. Ginn is in from the Black Mountain gold districts. He reports the interest as growing in the camp and that the development points to sure results." John I. Ginn died in the El Paso County Hospital on November 21, 1916, five weeks short of his eighty-first birthday.[11]

Ginn's manuscript bears the florid Victorian title "Mormon and Indian Wars; The Mountain Meadows Massacre, and Other Tragedies and Transactions Incident to the Mormon Rebellion of 1857. Together With the Personal Recollections of a Civilian Who Witnessed Many of the Horrifying Scenes Described. By Captain John I. Ginn." As discussed above, the narrative consists of Ginn's Utah War observations about events that he experienced directly or through second-hand conversations. In addition, the manuscript discusses his perceptions of Mormon involvement in Indian uprisings in the Pacific Northwest and what became Arizona of which he had even less direct knowledge.

Ginn does not tell us what prompted him to write as he did, but from a comment in the manuscript we know that he first did so during the period 1903-1904. It is unknown whether Ginn was motivated to write in his late

[10] For Morehead's *Times* role see John Middagh, *Frontier Newspaper: The El Paso Times* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1958), 5. Middagh does not mention Ginn as a *Times* employee, although obituaries in the *Times* and in a rival newspaper do. As with the matter of Ginn's military service, I have not been able to verify Parker Burnham's enlistment through army records in the National Archives which include no trace of his service with the Tenth U.S. Infantry. This could mean that either Burnham did not serve or he did so under an assumed name, not an uncommon behavior in the U.S. Army of the 1850s. Burnham, whom the region's Indians called "Colorado" and to whom others referred as "Dandy," had a long connection to El Paso's police department as a uniformed officer. See burial records of El Paso's Old Evergreen Cemetery, http:// www. rootsweb.com/ ~txelpaso/ evergreen. htm accessed March 2, 2004, and e-mail messages between author and Sgt. Charles DeNio, El Paso Police Department, June 2004. For the records of Ginn's funeral arrangements, I am indebted to Mr. Roy A. Bean of El Paso's Kaster-Maxon & Futtrell Funeral Home, also for a description of his burial plot and a photograph of Ginn's severely weathered grave marker the author thanks Ms. Jessica Estrada of El Paso's Old Evergreen Cemetery.

[11] "Personal Mention," *The Daily Herald* (El Paso, Texas), January 25, 1894; "Capt. John Ginn Dies, Aged 81, Old Time Citizen of El Paso and Southwest Passes Away," *The Daily Herald*, November 21, 1916; "Captain J.I. Ginn, Aged Pioneer Dies, Newspaperman and Resident of El Paso for Thirty Years Succumbs" and H.L. Davis, "Funeral of Capt. Ginn to Be Today" (El Paso) *Morning Times*, November 22 and 23, 1916. Davis memorialized Ginn with uneven accuracy: "In after years [following the 1849 gold rush] he returned to the golden state again as an officer under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston in the famous expedition to Utah against the Mormons at the time of the Mountain Meadow massacre…Captain Ginn was independent in political, social and religious views. He always was outspoken on what he believed was right. Of late years he has lived in the quietude of old age and poverty, but until recently was a familiar figure on the streets of this city, always cheerful when he met his old friends." Unfortunately, no photograph of Ginn has surfaced.

sixties by financial need, the irrepressible creative instincts of a career reporter, a sense of his own mortality, the continuing national controversy over Mormon polygamy and responsibility for the Mountain Meadows massacre, the urgings of comrades Morehead, Burnham, and Brady, or pressure from his own family—the catalyst for many Civil War reminiscences of the period. But aside from matters of motivation, it is possible to understand the chain of events through which John I. Ginn drafted and sought to publish his narrative by consulting a heretofore unexploited manuscript collection at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka.

This material indicates that by March 1907 Ginn had produced and shared with Morehead an unpublished, typed narrative in multiple copies that the latter described as a "booklet." Morehead made substantial use of this material in drafting his own Utah War reminiscences, which were completed during 1907 at the request of William Elsey Connelley, the energetic, prolific secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Connelley's overture to Morehead was in connection with a book that eventually emerged as a narrative of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan's Mexican War experiences. Morehead's contribution appeared in this book as its Appendix C, a twenty-two page narrative titled "Personal Recollections of Charles R. Morehead."[12]

In forwarding the manuscript of his own reminiscences to Connelley from El Paso on March 15, 1907, Morehead commented:

> I also enclose a booklet by Capt. John I. Ginn for you to see the style of his writing and to verify what I have to write &c. Capt. Ginn has grown from boyhood a newspaper writer and has written a history of the Mormons and all the Indian wars in the west from [18]57 on down to the present or nearly so. But he has never been able to have it published. I consider it a valuable manuscript which is type written. He offered me an interest in the book if I could get it published in book form. And without knowing what he would be willing to do about the matter I will state that I am willing to relinquish any claim I have if you can do anything with it. My father had a good deal to do with the Mormons in Missouri & I gathered considerable data for Capt. Ginn, who traveled all over the Pacific Coast country as a newspaper correspondent and is thoroughly posted on the west.[13]

Shortly thereafter, Morehead urged Connelley to "look over" Ginn's manuscript "... and see what can be done with it. In making references and quoting from official reports I can state that he had the public documents

[12] William Elsey Connelley, *War with Mexico, 1846-1847: Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, Kans.: n.p., 1907) 600-22. In several respects this piece was a strange offering, for having been born in 1838 Morehead had served in neither Doniphan's command nor the Mexican War. The events he described were distant from that conflict by thousands of miles and ten years. Connelley explained the appendix's presence to his readers by commenting "... it is here inserted, for the reason that it contains material vital to the history of several of the Western States." Probably also at work was the fact that Morehead had been a prominent Leavenworth, Kansas merchant and Santa Fe trader during the 1860s and 1870s, had been mayor of Leavenworth during 1868-1869—as he was to be in El Paso—and was the nephew of the famous but ruined William H. Russell, a founder of Russell, Majors and Waddell as well as of the Pony Express

[13] Charles R. Morehead, Letter to William E. Connelley, March 15, 1907; William E. Connelley Collection (No. 16), Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

before him. I hope you can do something in this matter. He would be satisfied with a reasonable royalty."[14]

Twelve days later, Morehead wrote to Connelley again—this time to transmit a second, substantially longer version of his friend's story: "I herewith enclose an Express receipt for a more elaborate history of Capt. John I. Ginn. He cut the other down because he thought it too long and that the official reports would not be of value, but since receiving your letter he concludes to send this also that you may see both and use both if used at all."[15]

On April 16, 1907, Morehead revisited with Connelley the subject of Ginn's narrative, this time with a growing sense of urgency and a hint of the wolf at Ginn's door: "I note what you wrote about Capt. Ginn's manuscript and beg to suggest that you take it up as soon as you find it convenient & add to and make it one all up to date work and you and he divide the profits. He has no money to put in it."[16]

Later in the spring of 1907, probably in connection with another book that he was writing, Connelley asked Morehead to query Ginn about William C. Quantrill, a young civilian teamster with the Utah Expedition and five years later the most notorious guerrilla of the Civil War. Morehead did so, and replied with a fascinating, accurate letter that adds to our understanding of Quantrill's somewhat elusive Utah War role while shedding light on Ginn's credibility as a source of information about that campaign:

> Yours of [the] 5th inst[ant is] rec[eive]d. In answer I have to state that I have seen Capt. Ginn who states that Quantrill was not in Salt Lake when he was there. Capt. Ginn went in to the city before the army. The latter wintered at Fort Bridger and did not reach Salt Lake City until June 1858. The first [gold] rush to Pike's Peak from the Missouri River was in the spring of 1859. Quantrill may have gone to Pike's Peak as he returned from Salt Lake in 1858. I do not remember to have seen him [at Fort Bridger] and would not have come into contact with him if he was in the government[']s employ. I settled with the employees of Russell, Majors & Waddell but of course could not remember the names of all of them.[17]

Notwithstanding this favor and Morehead's enthusiastic backing, Connelley concluded that he could not use Ginn's manuscripts; presumably he returned them to El Paso. In helping to bring out the Doniphan book later that year, Morehead asked Connelley to mention his three Utah War comrades as a small gesture to their vanity. Accordingly, in his editor's introduction to Morehead's reminiscences, Connelley commented: "It is a matter of regret that lack of space compels me to omit the interesting narratives of his associates, Captain John I. Ginn, Captain J.W. Brady, and Parker Burnham, Esq., all residents of El Paso, Texas."[18]

[14] Morehead to Connelley, March 25, 1907.

[15] Morehead to Connelley, April 6, 1907.

[16] Morehead to Connelley, April 16, 1907.

[17] Morehead to Connelley, May 11, 1907. See William Elsey Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Lawrence: Kansas Heritage Press, 1992), 1-7, 66, 75-81, 87, 94-96, 99-100, 103-4, and 109-10; and William P. MacKinnon, "Epilogue to the Utah War: Impact and Legacy," *Journal of Mormon History* 29 (Fall 2003): 221-22.

[18] Morehead to Connelley, April 16, 1907; Connelley, *War with Mexico*, 601. It was this brief reference to

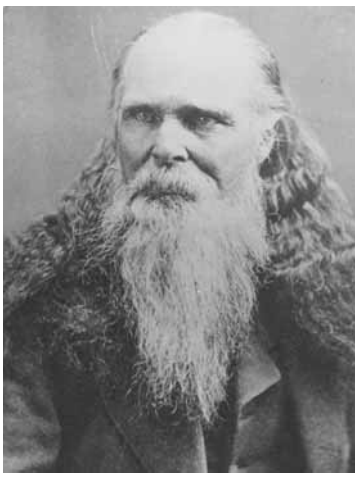
Upon Ginn's death in 1916, his two Utah War narratives—the long and short versions—and whatever notes or diary upon which they had been based—passed to his family. According to J. Cecil Alter, former Director of the Utah State Historical Society and editor of its *Quarterly*, Ginn's typescript—presumably one of the two versions reviewed by Morehead and Connelley in 1907—and perhaps a diary of sorts were sent to Salt Lake City's Shepard Book Publishing Co. around 1925. The Shepard firm—probably with Alter's help—edited and retyped this material "... for possible publication in book form. But for business reasons it was not published and the principal typed copy, along with the original papers, were returned to the sender." The Shepards retained one or more carbon copies of what they had edited and re-typed, shared this material with Kelly and Birney for their 1934 biography of Porter Rockwell, and eventually lodged a carbon copy with Alter. Between them, as Alter explained the chain of events in 1950, they "... preserved [the copy] for reference, and possible further use; but it has never been published. The Ginn family and relatives have disappeared in the intervening years, and their address is unknown."[19]

By the turn of the most recent century, Alter's carbon copy of the revised Ginn manuscript had gravitated to a Los Angeles book dealer from whom Steven Farley bought it several years ago. In 2002 Farley also acquired from a Phoenix collector-publisher a copy of a decades-old, variant attempt to re-cast Ginn's narrative by an unknown editor, a document that may also be found in the collections of the Utah State Historical Society. Consequently, notwithstanding his use of the term *diary* in his book's title, it was from a blending of these two documents that Farley worked to

Ginn that prompted me (and probably Schindler) to search for post-Bodie Ginn information in El Paso. Although Connelley's phrasing could be interpreted to imply that Brady and Burnham (as well as Ginn) wrote Utah War reminiscences, there are no signs in Morehead's correspondence or elsewhere that they did so. In 1959 Charles Kelly asserted that Connelley had sent Ginn's manuscript to Richard B. Shepard, but this timing and chain of events differs substantially from J. Cecil Alter's 1950 account of how and when the narrative eventually arrived at Shepard's firm. Kelly, "Notes on the Ginn Journal," March 25, 1959.

[19] H.L. Davis, "Funeral of Capt. Ginn." Through the courtesy of Mr. Farley in sharing the documents he has collected, the author has been able to determine that on April 26, 1950, J. Cecil Alter wrote and signed a three-paragraph, deposition-like statement at his retirement home in suburban Los Angeles setting forth the chain of events relating to the Ginn narrative during the period 1925-1950. Apparently Alter did so in support of an attempt to sell his carbon copy of the Shepards' re-type through William F. Kelleher, a Cliffside Park, New Jersey book dealer. There is no retained copy of any of these documents in the J. Cecil Alter Collection at the Utah State Historical Society. Mr. Alter died in 1964. As part of his efforts, Kelleher developed a crudely-drafted, four-page typed prospectus describing the character and provenance of Ginn's narrative. In this document, without support, Kelleher went far beyond Alter's explanation that Ginn's manuscript had not been published "for business reasons" to assert that Shepard "...was afraid to publish this work, because of the repercussions that might have occurred after it's [sic] publication, in the State of Utah ..." and that Alter "...was also ascared [sic] to have this issued, while he was a resident of Utah, or, to have anyone know that he had it in his possession." From a conflation of these two documents Farley fashioned the truncated and somewhat confusing account of the roles played by the Shepard firm and J. Cecil Alter over the decades that appears in Farley, *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre*, ix-x. Alter was unaware that Hayward J. Ginn, John I. Ginn's actor son, had committed suicide in Sawtell, California, in 1926. His widow, Maude Gilbert, an actress, died in Laguna Beach in 1953 leaving no apparent family survivors.

produce his book rather than from a holograph manuscript such as a journal or diary.[20] What is important to understand about Farley's 2003 book *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre: from the Diary of John I. Ginn* vis a vis the Ginn excerpts used by Kelly and Birney, Brooks, and Schindler over the preceding seventy years is that the text of all of this material jibes, indicating that all of these writers relied on the Ginn material that emerged from the Shepards' hands during the mid-1920s. However, with related but variant Ginn narratives at Yale, Princeton, and LDS Archives, among other repositories, the full bibliographical story of Ginn manuscripts is a complex one that has not yet been analyzed or told.



O. P. Rockwell, Brigham Young's bodyguard, is said to have protected John I. Ginn in Salt Lake City during the fall of 1857.

In 1934 when Charles Kelly and Hoffman Birney first published excepts from Ginn's

[20] Although in his book Farley does not mention the provenance of the material from which he worked, my research indicates that he bought a heavily edited version of the Ginn narrative from Ms. Teri Franks, a Phoenix book collector-publisher, after her failed attempt to sell the document over the internet via eBay during May-June 2002. Ms. Franks had, in turn, acquired the Ginn materials from an antiquarian book seller. (E-mail messages between Ms. Teri Franks and MacKinnon, September 21 and 22, 2003.) In her 2002 eBay posting (downloaded June 4, 2002 from http:// cgi.ebay.com/ ws/ eBay ISAPLdll? ViewItem& item= 2102226632"> eBay), Ms. Franks gave a very comprehensive description and some images of this document. In a telephone interview with the author on February 26, 2004, Mr. Farley confirmed his acquisition from Ms. Franks and described the blending of this material with the Alter copy which he had acquired from Los Angeles's Heritage Book Shop.

Arcane as the subject is, an understanding of the material from which Farley worked is important to an assessment of how this document relates to similar Ginn materials unmentioned by Farley but of varying length, originality, and provenance in six research libraries: Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Princeton University's Firestone Library, LDS Church Archives, Utah State Historical Society, University of Utah's Marriott Library, and the University of Nevada, Reno.

The two Yale Ginn manuscripts are both bound, 161-page, double-spaced typescripts bearing a very few pencil and ink corrections scattered throughout the text; they appear to be the original and a carbon copy of the same typescript. Yale acquired its original copy in the 1940s as part of the enormous collection of Western Americana donated by benefactor William Robertson Coe of New York. No other information on the document's provenance is available except in Mary C. Withington, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Western Americana Collection, Yale University Library* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952), 126-27, wherein it is stated "The reminiscences were acquired from the heirs of Captain Ginn." The second Yale copy, a carbon typescript, has never been catalogued, was essentially inaccessible until 2004, and was donated by a benefactor, Philip Neufeld, in 1957. Interestingly, Yale's carbon copy from Mr. Neufeld bears notations that it had passed through Salt Lake City's Shepard firm. E-mail message, George Miles, Curator, Yale Collection of Western Americana, to MacKinnon, December 5, 2003. The author believes that the two copies at Yale are probably the original and carbon typescripts returned to Ginn's heirs by the Shepard firm. If so, they are probably related to the LDS Archives copy discussed below as well as to the Alter carbon copy as described in the Heritage Book Shop's catalogue, a copy of which is in the author's possession courtesy of Mr. Farley.

The Ginn manuscript in the LDS Church Archives appears to be a carbon typescript of the Yale original with similar if not identical annotations. No information with respect to the provenance of LDS Archives' carbon copy is available. Archivist Ronald G. Watt, e-mail message to MacKinnon, September 22, 2003.

narrative, they gushed praise for this colorful, heretofore unexploited source, pronouncing it "...unquestionably authentic and correct in every detail when checked with parallel records ..."[21] Subsequent use by such critical researchers as Juanita L. Brooks and Harold Schindler, the nature of the Morehead-Connelley correspondence discussed here, and the J. Cecil Alter materials that accompanied the manuscript acquired and published by Steven E. Farley all support the Kelly and Birney assessment of authenticity, i.e., that the manuscript is indeed the work of a Utah War participant. Furthermore, the retained copy of the pass issued by Brigham Young to Ginn indicates where he was in early November 1857 and the nature of his travel plans. Ginn's is not one of the multiple bogus documents that have plagued the historiography of some aspects of Mormon history, including that of the Utah War.[22]

Yet if the Ginn manuscript is authentic, it is hardly "correct in every detail." In a sense this is not surprising, for although Ginn may have been typing from a now-lost diary or trail journal, the scope of his narrative sometimes goes far beyond events of which he had first-hand knowledge and, in some cases, even a grasp of the facts.

For example, early in his manuscript Ginn discusses Colonel E.V. Sumner and notes that he died in 1862 during the Civil War battle of South Mountain, Maryland. In fact, Sumner died of pneumonia a year later while on leave to visit his daughter in Syracuse, New York. Surprisingly,

The copy of the Ginn manuscript in the Joy Leland Collection (No. 96-07), Special Collections, Library of the University of Nevada, Reno is a microfilm of the Yale original typescript.

The Ginn material in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah is found in the Charles Kelly Papers (Ms 100) and consists of a 15-sheet, single-spaced carbon copy typescript made by Kelly of a portion of the Ginn narrative commencing with his departure from Salt Lake City. This manuscript appears to have been created as research material for either Kelly's biography of Porter Rockwell or his related, unpublished work on Mountain Meadows.

There are two Ginn manuscripts of substantially different character in the collections of the Utah State Historical Society: a shorter (65-page, double-spaced) original typescript produced on letter-size paper; and a longer (181 pages on 147 sheets, double-spaced) photocopy of a typescript on legal-sized paper. One of the manuscripts (presumably the shorter) was donated by Charles Kelly; the provenance of the other is unknown. The longer of these two manuscripts appears to approximate the material acquired from Ms. Franks by Steven E. Farley in 2002.

Perhaps most difficult to understand is the character of the Ginn manuscript in Princeton University's Western Americana Collection, Special Collections, Firestone Library. This item is a 145-sheet typescript specially created from a photocopy held by Juanita Brooks in 1963 of a carbon copy typescript once held by Charles Kelly—a description that raises more questions than it resolves, especially since it includes the phrase "the original is in the Coe Collection at Yale." Alfred L. Bush (Curator Emeritus, Princeton Western Americana Collection), e-mail message to MacKinnon, September 23, 2003. For additional background on how and when the typescript now at Princeton was created see 1963 correspondence between Ms. Brooks and Mr. Bush in Juanita L. Brooks papers, Utah State Historical Society.

[21] Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, 148.

[22] The three most important yet virtually unknown bogus Utah War documents run to: a forged November 1857 letter printed in the New York *Times* and attributed to Lieut. Col. Philip St. George Cooke of the Second U.S. Dragoons impugning the courage of the Nauvoo Legion; a highly suspect (unverifiable) account by Pvt. "Jim DeForrest" of Capt. Randolph B. Marcy's grueling winter trek from Fort Bridger to New Mexico to buy remounts for the Utah Expedition; and an alleged April 19, 1858 Nauvoo Legion order directing (at Brigham Young's insistence) the extermination of eighty discharged U.S. Army teamsters.

Ginn confuses Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston, executive officer of Sumner's First U.S. Cavalry, with Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the Second Cavalry and—more importantly—leader of the Utah Expedition which Ginn accompanied. With respect to biases rather than facts, Ginn observes that on returning to Utah after fleeing to California, Enoch Parrish, a survivor of the notorious March 1857 Potter-Parrish murders, "returned to his vomit, as he was a good Mormon." This is a slur undercutting Ginn's prefatory assurance to the reader that his narrative "has not been shaded by any prejudice I have against the Mormon religion."[23]

In view of the importance of Ginn's description of his interactions with Porter Rockwell, his captor-patron during the fall of 1857, it is intriguing to consider the accuracy of Ginn's assertion that he had earlier intervened to prevent Magraw from lynching Rockwell at the wagon road crew's camp. That Ginn subsequently fell in with and was befriended by Rockwell once captured is plausible in the light of similar encounters with Lieutenant William Adams ("Wild Bill") Hickman and other Legionnaires by teamster-captives William Clark and Charles W. Becker. What is puzzling, though, is that an attempt to lynch a Mormon of Rockwell's notoriety passed unremarked upon in the voluminous record of complaints lodged against Magraw with the Pacific Wagon Road Office by his aggressively critical employees. That an audacious killer of Rockwell's stripe would permit himself to be cornered by an unheroic drunkard of Magraw's record also raises questions of Ginn's believability.[24]

Perhaps most importantly, in describing the unburied corpses that he saw at Mountain Meadows, Ginn notes that he passed through the site about three weeks after the September 11, 1857 slaughter. In fact, Ginn's party crossed the killing field in mid-November, about eight weeks after the massacre. Irrespective of which timing one accepts, weather conditions and active feeding by wolves at Mountain Meadows immediately after the

[23] Farley, *The Mormon Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 3-4, 18, and 29.

[24] The document in which one would most expect such a Rockwell incident to appear is the daily journal kept by Magraw's assistant chief engineer, Henry K. Nichols, Jr., Beinecke Library, Yale University. Nichols recorded the passage through Magraw's camp of such famous frontiersmen as Jim Bridger and Tim Goodale, described unruly, riotous behavior by Magraw's Irish laborers, and repeatedly critiqued Magraw's behavior and decisions—all without reference to an attack on Rockwell. I believe it likely that, with the passage of decades, Ginn may have confused Magraw's attack on a Mormon named Gamble with an apparently peaceful but alcohol-fueled visit by Porter Rockwell. From Fort Laramie at about the time Ginn left, Nichols reported: "A few evenings since the camp was astonished by his [Magraw's] entertaining (liquoring) one of [Brigham] Young's principal men and relating the circumstances of Gamble, trying to excuse himself. Now he appears to be particularly anxious to allow the army to get between him and Salt Lake City." Nichols, Letter to A.H. Campbell, September 5, 1857, Records of the Pacific Wagon Road Office, National Archives. Adding to the complexity of this affair is the likelihood that Nichols too muddled names, mistaking "Gamble" for LDS member James Gemmell, who was attacked by Magraw and some of his crew in Independence, Missouri. Apostle John Taylor, with whom Gemmell traveled west after the incident, described Gemmell as "…a pretty decent, thorough-going fellow, goes it strongly for equal rights, complains bitterly of McGraw taking his horses, and seems to think more of them than of being shot at by him and his ruffians in Independence…it would not be very good for McGraw's health to meet him on equal grounds." John Taylor to Editor, July 16, 1857, *New York Times,* September 30, 1857.

massacre make Ginn's description of some corpses as undisturbed highly unlikely, as Juanita Brooks has observed and as Charles Kelly eventually acknowledged in 1959.[25]

Finally, with respect to accuracy, Ginn asserted that once he reached California he wrote a letter providing the first public account of the Aiken murders to Kirk Anderson, editor of the Salt Lake City *Valley Tan*. Ginn commented that Anderson published his letter in full, which he indeed did. Ginn's apparent implication was that he had written promptly upon his December 1857 arrival in California, whereas more than fifteen months were to pass before he contacted Anderson. Unfortunately neither Ginn nor any of the four books relying heavily on his manuscript as a Utah War source printed this important letter. Its text appears below:

"Star" Office, Mariposa, Cal.,
March 26 1859.

Kirk Anderson, Esq.:

Dear Sir: – Having had some little acquaintance with you while you were connected with the *Missouri Republican* in St. Louis, and having myself had intimations (while in Utah in November, 1857) made to me that certain persons then in Salt Lake City would be murdered, I have been requested by a friend to write to you or some other reliable person (now in Utah) to obtain, if possible, the particulars in regard to the murder and the disposition made of the bodies.

The circumstances, as far as I know, are about as follows: – Two brothers, Thomas and John Aiken, well known throughout the southern portion of this State; A.J. Jones, commonly known in this State as "Honesty Jones," and three other men (names unknown) left this State in the latter part of the summer of 1857, to join the army in Utah, as they supposed the army would be there by the time they would. In Carson Valley, they fell in with the Mormons, who were going to the city, in accordance with Brigham's call. With these Mormons they traveled to the Goose Creek Mountains, where, hearing of the hostility of the Mormons, and consequent halt of the army on Ham's Fork, they left the Mormons with whom they had been traveling, and, to avoid trouble and delay, cut across, with the intention of leaving Ogden City to their right, and reaching the army without delay or difficulty.

As soon as they had left camp, the Mormons dispatched a messenger, post haste to Brigham, to let him know that these men were passing. His Majesty sent a body of men to cut them off; they were arrested, without resistance, and brought down to the city. I was in G.S.L. City at the time. The first night they were brought in they were kept in the Social Hall; and after that they were kept up stairs in the house next above Townsend's Hotel, on the same side of the street. (If I mistake not, there was a saddler's shop in the basement.)

I left Salt Lake City, in company with Wm. Bell (of the firm of Livingston, Kinkead & Co.), Ray (of Gilbert & Gerrish), Horace Clark, and Wm. Huntington, of Springville, as guides, Wilson and others; I left on the 7th of Nov., and I think the Aiken prisoners had been in the city about ten days. It was intimated to me, by Mormons, that those men would be murdered. I asked one Mormon (whose name I remember) why he thought so; and if any of these men had ever abused Mormons in California or elsewhere. He

[25] Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 127-28. In his 1959 memo ("Notes on the Ginn Journal") Charles Kelly corrected his 1934 acceptance of Ginn's description of the bodies and echoed Brooks's criticism.

said one of them had; "besides," said he, "they have got $8,000 in money, and several first-rate animals, all of which we stand very much in need of, just at this time."

But to return to the subject. When we left the city, it was not known publicly what disposition would be made of the prisoners; but strange as it may appear, before we reached San Bernardino, we heard that these men were killed, and also heard *where* they were killed; and to this day I do not know how, when or where the report got into our camp: but certain it is, that the next mail from Utah corroborated the report in every particular.

The report was, that they were surprised and killed by the Indians, just as they were preparing to camp at Chicken Creek, near the Sevier River; four of them killed dead on the spot, and two escaped, badly wounded, and reached Salt Creek, where they died of their wounds the next day. It was also reported that Brigham discharged them, on condition that they would abandon the idea of going to the army, and return to California, and assuring them that they would have no difficulty in getting here. They must have been murdered about the 16th of November, 1857.

The widow of Andrew J. Jones ("Honesty Jones") has written to an acquaintance in this county to know the fate of her husband. She wishes to know if he was buried – if he was one of the two who reached Salt Creek – or whether or not he was left upon the plains, his flesh to be torn by the wolves, and his bones to bleach in the sunshine. His children (of whom an interesting group now mourn the untimely loss of their long-absent father) also express the most feeling anxiety to know what disposition was made of the body of their father. And as a relative of Jones has recently died, leaving him heir to a handsome fortune, it will probably become necessary to establish the fact that he is dead, in order that his widow and children may receive the benefit of his worldly goods.

I have taken the liberty of addressing you on this subject, because I believed you would do all in your power to obtain the information so earnestly solicited by the disconsolate widow of a most excellent, but unfortunate man.

Perhaps you could obtain the information from the Indian Agent. Or if he has not yet done so, you will confer a favor by suggesting to him the propriety of examining into this massacre.

Your co-operation is earnestly solicited, by, Yours most respectfully,

J.J.G.

P.S. – If you wish it, I will give you some particulars about the scene of the massacre of the Mountain Meadows, as I passed over the ground a few weeks after the wholesale murder was committed; and as none of the body of emigrants escaped to tell the tale, and the only evidence we will ever have will be circumstantial – I think I can prove, conclusively, to every unbiased mind, that the greatest portion of that company of emigrants were killed by white men – and that it was the most cruel, cold-blooded and *treacherous* wholesale murder that ever blotted the dark catalogue of crime.

I have "notes and observations" taken down on the Meadows, together with conversations held with different Mormons upon the subject, which would probably be interesting to Americans, and which, I am confident, would cause great uneasiness among the Saintly murderers.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

I remain, &c.,

J.J.G.[26]

[26] *Valley Tan* (Salt Lake City), April 26, 1859. I assume that the middle initial "J" was a misprint. It is telling that in this nearly contemporaneous letter Ginn described the timing of his departure from Salt Lake City accurately, although more than forty years later, perhaps writing his narrative from memory, he was off by about five weeks.

John S. Mendenhall traveled with John Ginn through Mountain Meadows in November 1857. Later he became a successful merchant and civic leader in Bozeman, Montana.

Potentially, there are even more Ginn-related documents awaiting discovery. Most promising would be the complete papers of three of John Ginn's companions during their dangerous trek from Salt Lake City through Mountain Meadows to San Bernardino: John S. "Jack" Mendenhall, William Bell, and Enoch K. Parrish. Mendenhall, a Salt Lake employee of the gentile mercantile firm of Gilbert & Gerrish, was a twenty-two-year-old native of Vevay, Switzerland County, Indiana. Bell, a thirty-nine-year-old native Scot, was senior manager of a competing trading house—Livingston and Kinkead—who had migrated to Salt Lake City with Howard Livingston in 1849. Both Mendenhall and Bell, as well as their employers, responded to pressure from Brigham Young during the first week of November 1857, sold out their inventories, and obtained safe-passage passes to depart Utah via the southern route in anticipation of imminent fighting between the Nauvoo Legion and the Utah Expedition. Unlike Bell and Mendenhall, Enoch K. Parrish was a twenty-two-year-old Mormon apostate fleeing Springville in the wake of the assassination there of his uncle and cousin in the notorious Potter-Parrish murders of March 14, 1857. Ginn's narrative mentions Mendenhall once as a member of this party, but the two contemporaries—Ginn and Mendenhall—seem not to have formed an enduring relationship. Strangely, Ginn does not mention Bell in his narrative, although he did so in his 1859 letter to the *Valley Tan*, in which Mendenhall's name was omitted. Ginn's narrative mentions Parrish once but does not identify him as a traveling companion.

Several of the letters written to Jack Mendenhall during the Utah War have survived, but those written by him have not surfaced.[27] Nonetheless, when Mendenhall later settled in Montana he provided enough details of his Utah adventures for a late-nineteenth-century Gallatin County (Bozeman) history to state, consistent with Ginn's own horrified account:

> "He worked at their [Gilbert & Gerrish's] store in that [Salt Lake] city until 1857, selling the Arkansas [Baker-Fancher] Party, the victims of the horrible Mountain Meadows Massacre, their entire outfit. About one month after this terrible crime was committed,

[27] Some of Mendenhall's business papers and a few incoming letters for the Utah War period are included in manuscript collections 925 and 785, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Libraries, Bozeman. Jack Mendenhall died in Bozeman at age sixty in 1896, a highly respected merchant.

> Mr. Mendenhall crossed over the ever memorable site, on his way to California, and was much terrified to observe the many skeletons yet on the surface. He was accompanied by fifteen men, on his journey, and they were prevented from being murdered by the Indians by a few Mormon interpreters who were detailed for that special purpose by the Mormon authorities. He returned by steamer to New York, and then came to Atchison and soon after went in an ambulance to Salt Lake with the Livingston & Bell Co. ..."[28]

Unlike Mendenhall, with whom he apparently traveled to New York and later hired, Bell gave immediate and extensive interviews to newspapers in both California and Manhattan. Bell's views were important, for he was to be the only non-Mormon insider to meet with Brigham Young and leave Utah during the long, fateful interval between U.S. Army Captain Stewart Van Vliet's departure from Salt Lake City on September 14, 1857, and the arrival of Thomas L. Kane on February 25, 1858. Yet with a few Mormon relatives by marriage and perhaps with an eye to the diplomatic implications of his plans to resume mercantile activities in Salt Lake City post-war, Bell remained silent during his newspaper interviews about what he had seen at Mountain Meadows and what he had heard of the Aikens' fate. Although avoiding these subjects he discussed at length other sensitive subjects such as his pre-departure meeting with Brigham Young, his assessment of the Nauvoo Legion's military capabilities, and Mormon efforts to manufacture firearms as well as gunpowder in Utah. Notwithstanding William Bell's highly successful business and civic leadership role in Burlington, Iowa, during the period 1862-1887, none of his personal papers bearing on the Utah War have come to light; like Jack Mendenhall's correspondence, if they can be found they would be a valuable, contemporaneous adjunct to John I. Ginn's narrative.[29]

[28] *History of Montana, 1739-1885* (Chicago: Warner, Beers, & Company, 1885), 1145. Subsequent to its exodus from Utah the Livingston firm underwent a management change, with Bell replacing Kinkead. Mendenhall's use of an army ambulance, a mule-drawn light wagon with an enclosed body, was a matter of travel and sleeping comfort rather than the sign of a medical problem. Regimental colonels often traveled that way rather than by horseback. I am indebted to Ms. Julie Chitwood of Arizona, a Mendenhall descendant, for bringing this source to my attention. See also Roxa Crowe, "Mendenhall's Story Is Exciting Page in History," *Gallatin County* [Montana] *Tribune*, June 24, 1971, to which another Mendenhall descendant, Mr. Joseph P. Malin of Montana, directed me.

[29] Having been born in 1818 and a resident of Salt Lake City since 1849, Bell was almost a generation older and more Utah savvy than Jack Mendenhall and John Ginn. A few of Bell's business papers are included with Livingston, Kinkead & Company Records, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For Bell newspaper interviews, see *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), December 13, 1857; and New York *Herald*, February 23, 1858, reprinted *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), May 12, 1858. William Bell wound up his mercantile business in Salt Lake City for the second and presumably final time in February 1862, and departed "for the east" by stage: "... though not exactly identified with it [Utah's] interests in the same way as the majority of the citizens, we are satisfied that it will be long before he will forget 'Our Mountain Home.' He expresses kind feelings for the people which most of them will reciprocate and wish him a prosperous journey." *Deseret News*, February 28, 1862. Bell then joined relatives in Burlington, Iowa, where he was twice mayor and conducted an extensive, multifaceted business career until his death at age sixty-nine in 1887. Bell's only son, Thomas J. ("Andy" or "Dude") Bell, was born in Salt Lake City in 1852 and later claimed to have first introduced the game of golf to the United States from Scotland in the 1880s. See Bell family file, Burlington Public Library, in which William Bell's rarely used middle initial appears as both "H" and "J."

Perhaps most helpful of all would be the complete diary of Enoch K. Parrish, a few extracts from which appeared in a secondary source published in 1971. Here Parrish recorded the travel restrictions imposed in southern Utah following Brigham Young's martial-law proclamation, an impediment to his planned September departure which he linked to the Mormons' anticipation of Christ's Second Coming: "Time, I suppose is coming to an end. If not time, 'Freedom' has. I suppose no one leaves these valleys in daylight without a pass." In early November Parrish recorded, "I am all rigged for California once more. Got a pass from the governor and the bishop[']s consent. Expect to start in the morning. Will go with [guide] Horace Clark…There is quite a company of gentile merchants from the city."[30]

A heretofore unpublished letter written by Brigham Young to arrange safe passage for William Bell, an unmentioned John Ginn and Jack Mendenhall, and their several companions, goes beyond the Ginn narrative to telegraph the explosive atmosphere in southern Utah soon after the massacre. With Brigham Young's acute awareness of the Mountain Meadows atrocity, as well as his recognition that this would undoubtedly be the last group of tale-bearing non-Mormons to leave Utah before winter, his letter to two of the most senior Mormon officers involved with the Mountain Meadows massacre also reflects his anxiety that no additional civilian killings take place.

G.S.L. City, Nov. 2, 1857

Br's Isaac Haight
and John D. Lee,
Brethren: –

Mr. William Bell, late a Merchant in this City, and a person with whom you are both well acquainted, ~~is desirous of passing through our settlements~~ and several others are about starting for California, under the conduct and guidance of br's William D. Huntington and Horace S. Clark. As the Indians beyond you are reported to be somewhat troublesome and hostile to travelers, I wish you to procure for Mr. Bell and all ~~those who~~ in the company under care of br's Huntington and Clark, the services of an Interpreter and a good Indian to go with them from our settlements to San Bernardino, ~~a point beyond danger of interruption from the hostile Indians,~~ for which services they will be paid by ~~the Mr. Bell and company. I will suggest br. [blank] Hatch or br. Jacob Hamblin~~ the company, the amount and kind of pay to be agreed upon and paid before leaving the settlements. I will suggest that br. Ira Hatch or br. Jacob Hamblin go as Interpreter, and ~~would prefer~~ think that of the two perhaps br. Hamblin had better go, if he can conveniently; at any rate procure one of your best Interpreters and one who has the most influence with the Indians. I also suggest ~~that you~~ for the Indian you get Tuts-e-gubbit to go, if you can; if you cannot get him, try to find some

[30] Enoch K. Parrish, diary entries for September 23 and November 9, 1857, published in 1857, O.W. Willits, comp., *The Story of Oak Glen and the Yucaipa Valley* (Yucaipa, CA.: Cobb's Printing Enterprise, 1971), 24. My thanks to Michael N. Landon of the LDS Church Archives and Polly Aird of Seattle for alerting me to this source, which is also discussed in Edward Leo Lyman, *The Overland Journey from Utah to California: Wagon Travel from the City of the Saints to the City of Angels* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 145 and 255n78. Lyman believes that a Los Angeles Parrish descendant possesses this diary, but his repeated inability to gain access to it prompts him to conclude that the diary is "presumably lost" as an historical source.

> good Indian to accompany the Interpreter and the company. The Interpreter and Indian will probably have to wait about a month, more or less, ~~at the point where they may deem it safe for the company to pass on without their guidance~~ in order to pilot back br's Huntington and Clark and those who may accompany them.
>
> Mr. Bell, Mr. Ray, late of the firm of Gilbert & Gerrish in this City, and perhaps others of the company have presents for such Indians as they may meet on the route beyond our settlements, and will also, probably ~~wish~~ want to buy some oats in our southern settlements, which I trust the brethren will be able to sell them.
>
> I wish Mr. Bell and company to pass safely to San Bernardino with all their effects.
>
> Your Brother in the Gospel,
>
> B.Y.[31]

Upon completing this assignment, Jacob Hamblin reported to President Young from Santa Clara on the day after Christmas cryptically and somewhat ominously:

> The company which I was called to go through with, they & their effects passed through in safety, thoug[h] attended with some difficulty in consequence of certain personsons [sic] having been sent to the Muddy [River] note [sic] belonging to this Mission, and there giving the Indians such instructions as we know nothing about. Br[other Ira] Ha[t]ch is now on his way there to correct the errors & set things to wrights [sic] as soon as possible.[32]

Although both Mendenhall and Bell survived their November 1857 trek out of Utah, when they returned the next summer in the wake of the Utah Expedition they encountered more difficulties. William Bell underwent a tense interrogation in Brigham Young's office. For Jack Mendenhall, his confrontation was physical. In late November 1858 he, several army officers, and a few of William Bell's competitors became embroiled with the Salt Lake City police in one of the major shooting brawls of the army's post-Utah War occupation. As Editor Kirk Anderson described it: "John Mendenhall, one of the defendants, was graciously allowed to go free, as according to admissions made, he did nothing; yet Mendenhall was knocked down and hospitably taken to the Calaboose…Mendenhall was thus brutally treated without any cause or provocation…."[33] Nothwithstanding Ginn's reference to Enoch Parrish as having "returned to his vomit," there is no record that he ever left California for Utah after 1857.

How, then, should students of the Utah War approach John I. Ginn and his narrative? My advice: use the material, but think carefully about the author and his perspective.[34] Ginn's story is a valuable source written by a

[31] Brigham Young, Letter (retained copy) to Brothers Isaac Haight and John D. Lee, November 2, 1857, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives. Lyman's *The Overland Journey*, contains the most complete description of this caravan but omits Ginn's presence.

[32] Jacob Ham[b]lin, Letter to Brigham Young, December 26, 1857, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives

[33] Interview, Brigham Young and William Bell, July 6, 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives; and *Valley Tan* (Salt Lake City), December 3, 1858

[34] On balance, I believe that the Ginn text most useful for those wishing to study his narrative is the original typescript in the Yale-Beinecke collections, which is the apparent master for the carbon copies at Yale, LDS Archives, and in Steven E. Farley's collection.

Utah War participant-witness with a near-unique perspective, yet at the same time it is a narrative with significant limitations, strong biases, and a complex, ambiguous provenance. When Ginn drafted his reminiscences near the turn of the last century he was fundamentally an impecunious sixty-eight-year-old of significant but unclear motivation. He was also a veteran journalist who had drifted through a hardscrabble career on approximately twenty newspapers serving the mining frontier of California, Nevada, and west Texas. What came with that background was a sharp eye for detail and behavior expressed in colorful, fluent, and highly readable prose. Also evident is a harsh, anti-Mormonism probably burnished if not first shaped in the raw mining camps so hostile to LDS culture at the height of the anti-polygamy prosecutions. In Ginn we do not have a broad-minded diarist. Instead, he comes to us as a keen, articulate re-write man intent on reporting for cash but not one necessarily prepared to provide a rounded or sensitive understanding of the Mormon side of the story. In this sense Ginn was a man of his times complete with some of the era's less-than-attractive prejudices.

To the extent that Ginn wrote of people and events with whom he had direct contact, his comments need to be taken seriously but not uncritically, recognizing that with the passage of time and the approach of a non-historian his dates and sequencing were sometimes askew. But when Ginn departs from people, events, and locations experienced first-hand, readers need to elevate their vigilance. His discussion of a Mormon role in the Indian outbreaks of the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest is an example of material requiring such care. H. L. Davis's 1916 description of Ginn as a California Forty-Niner, an officer in the Utah Expedition, and a Civil War veteran raises questions of the extent to which Ginn indulged in hyperbole and tall tales during his El Paso years.

After reading the Utah War narratives of William Clark and Charlie Becker—material to which Ginn had no access—he penned an account of his Nauvoo Legion captivity with Porter Rockwell and access to a Salt Lake City under martial law that seems credible. However, Ginn's recollection of an earlier attempt to lynch Rockwell does not ring true in light of the sources generated by Magraw's Pacific Wagon crew. Perhaps the most valuable material in the narrative runs to Ginn's account of the Aiken affair. In this matter Ginn's comments were the product of his own interactions with the party's members while they were under house arrest and his immediately subsequent interviews as a quasi cub reporter in first Salt Lake City and then California.

Ginn's Mountain Meadows-related comments are also useful, but they are a mixed bag. Since he was not present at the massacre, Ginn did not report on the action as a witness to the tragedy. But in passing through the region so soon after the Baker-Fancher party, Ginn was qualified to comment as he did on the palpable tensions and dangers there from whites as well as Indians. Likewise for Ginn's description of the horrific scene at

Mountain Meadows itself. Mormon guides piloting emigrant parties through the area immediately subsequent to the massacre either took a tortuous alternate route that deliberately by-passed the Meadows entirely or crossed the site at night when the only clues to what had happened there were a pervasive stench and the grisly gnawing sounds of wolves at work. Ginn and his party viewed the scene of unburied, dismembered bodies in broad daylight; like young Jack Mendenhall he never forgot it. That fifty years later Ginn (or a prospective editor) embellished this grim reality with the unlikely description of a dead child grasping the hand of her mother's pristine corpse is inexplicable but emblematic of his material's challenges.[35]

Perhaps the most vexing questions prompted by Ginn's story run to the character and provenance of the manuscripts through which we know it. There are hints that in El Paso Ginn may have worked from a holograph diary or trail notes, but they have long since disappeared. What Ginn shared with Charlie Morehead and through him William E. Connelley in 1907 was clearly not these original sources. Rather they saw a reworked, typed narrative produced from them as well as from the application of Ginn's memory supplemented by published materials such as government documents and other people's reminiscences. Once the Shepards, J. Cecil Alter, Charles Kelly, and perhaps even Dale L. Morgan went to work on the original typescript decades subsequent to Ginn's 1916 death, a whole new series of ambiguities and analytical challenges arose. What did these prospective editors produce but never publish? The possible answers range from a simple retyping to a series of major revisions produced in unknown ways by unspecified editors with mixed motives and no direct connection to either John I. Ginn or his original sources. Understanding what these prospective editors did is crucial, for it is partially their work rather than Ginn's 1907 typescript that we find today in the manuscript collections of Yale, Princeton, the LDS Church, the University of Utah, and the Utah State Historical Society.

Notwithstanding these substantial complexities, it would be a mistake for students of the Utah War to shy away from John I. Ginn's narrative as an unfathomable mishmash. To do so would be a bit like dismissing Nauvoo Legion Major Lot Smith's important reminiscences because they have come to us only through the editorial hands of Junius F. Wells and the subsequent uncritical reprinting of LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen. There are ways of dealing with such quandaries, perhaps the most important of which is assessing the perspective and biases of the author and his editors as well as comparing their work with the journals or reminiscences of contempo-

[35] Brooks ridicules this story as "written for effect." Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, 129. William Clark, who passed through Mountain Meadows about a month after Ginn did, claimed erroneously decades later to have been in "... the first train that ever passed over this ground after that wholesale murder ... counted eighteen skeletons close to the road, mostly of women and children with the hair still on their skulls. It was enough to make a man's blood run cold ..." Clark, "A Trip Across the Plains in 1857," 216.

raries who shared the author's Utah War experiences. It is possible to do so for Lot Smith's narrative, and it is possible—with even more work—to separate what Porter Rockwell would call the "wheat" of John I. Ginn's story from the less credible material that sometimes surrounds it.[36] To use a Civil War parallel, Ginn was, in effect, on the last train out of Atlanta. After he exited Salt Lake City in early November 1857, virtually no non-Mormons entered and left to tell the tale until Thomas L. Kane did so nearly four months later. To Ginn, his even more obscure traveling companion William Bell, and William Clark (who traveled separately), we are indebted for virtually the only gentile accounts of what was happening in the Salt Lake Valley and southern Utah on the eve of this crucial period of silence as well as during the ten weeks following Captain Van Vliet's mid-September departure. Accordingly, understanding John I. Ginn's narrative is a prize worth the effort required to assess and grasp it.

[36] Major Lot Smith's famous account of his Utah War adventures, including his October 4-5, 1857 destruction of three federal supply trains with seventy-eight wagons and millions of dollars of materiel, first appeared serially in Junius F. Wells's magazine *The Contributor* during 1882-1883. Wells was a son of Daniel H. Wells, long-time commanding general of the Nauvoo Legion as well as mayor of Salt Lake City. This piece is most conveniently found today as reprinted in LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858...* (1958; reprinted, Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1982), 220-46. Based on a style analysis of Lot Smith's letters and the editorial work done by Wells on a similar published Utah War narrative written by Major Joseph Taylor (for which the original holograph manuscript has survived), it is possible to obtain a feel for the substantial polishing that Smith's story underwent at Wells's skilled editorial hands. It is also possible to cross-check the substance of Major Smith's account through the diaries kept by members of his detachment (especially Nauvoo Legion trooper James Parshall Terry) and the depositions taken from the federal wagon masters involved only days later by the new chief justice of Utah, Delana R. Eckels.

The word "wheat" had a special meaning for Porter Rockwell, who, when excited, often shouted the word repeatedly in his high-pitched voice. "He used it on every occasion, as a toast when drinking, or more frequently to express his approval or assent. With him it mean 'Yes,' 'Good,' 'Satisfactory,' or 'O.K.' The expression was his private property, used by none other." Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, 23.

"Our Tone": Tony Lazzeri's Baseball Career in Salt Lake City, 1922-1925

By JOHN SILLITO

NATIONAL BASEBALL HALL OF FAME LIBRARY

Tony "Poosh 'em up" Lazzeri with the Salt Lake Bees, 1925.

It is one of the most famous confrontations in baseball history. As one writer asserted, it "stands in baseball lore like a piece of classic sculpture, awash in the soft amber light of memory, its flawless craftsmanship a thing to be cherished over and over."[1] It happened in the seventh inning of the seventh game of the 1926 World Series featuring the St. Louis Cardinals and the New York Yankees. On the pitching mound stood veteran right-hander Grover Cleveland Alexander, at bat, digging in, was Yankee rookie infielder Tony Lazzeri.

Alexander, who had beaten the Yankees in the second game of the Series and finished the sixth in relief, came in from the bullpen with the bases loaded, two out, and the Cardinals holding a 3-2 lead. In the words of Donald Honig, "The moment lives in a cloud of legend: Alex was drunk the night before, he was dozing in the bullpen, he was hung over when he walked to the mound, Hornsby walked out to him to see if his eyes were clear."[2]

After Lazzeri missed a curve ball,

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[1] Donald Honig, *Baseball America: The Heroes of the Game and the Times of Their Glory* (New York: Galahad Books, 1993), 54.

[2] Ibid.,158. For his part Alexander maintained he wanted the winner's share of the series money as much as anyone, and "had only had a few drinks at the hotel of Saturday night, but I was cold sober when I faced Lazzeri."

Alexander came at him with an inside fast ball, high and tight, and the young Yankee, in the words of Cardinal third baseman Les Bell, "hit the hell out of it, a hard drive down the left field line." It was foul. As Bell recalled, ever since then that ball has been foul "anywhere from an inch to twenty feet, depending on who you are listening to or what you are reading. But I was standing on third base, and I tell you it was foul all the way."[3]

Alexander recalled saying to himself: "No more of that for you my lad," wasted a couple of pitches, and then came back with a "back-breaking curve ball that snapped across the low outside corner."[4] Lazzeri missed it and struck out. The Cardinals went on to hold the lead, and win the Series.

From that dramatic moment on, the seasoned pitcher and the young rookie have been linked in the public memory.[5] Both are among the greats of the game, and both are Hall of Famers. Alexander was a 373 game winner, with a lifetime 2.56 earned run average (ERA), 2,199 strikeouts, and 3 consecutive 30 plus win seasons. He was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1938. Lazzeri was a lifetime .292 hitter with 1,841 hits, 1,175 runs batted in (RBI), 178 home runs and 148 stolen bases. On May 24, 1936, he became the first major leaguer to hit two grand slams in one game. Driving in over 100 runs in 7 seasons, and 5 times a .300 or better hitter, Lazzeri gained his place in Cooperstown, New York, (location of baseball's hall of fame) thanks to the veterans committee in 1991. Moreover, in the words of Larry Baldassaro, for Italian-Americans, the "soberminded and quiet" Lazzeri "represented the first Italian-American star in the major leagues ... and a visible symbol of success."[6]

For Salt Lake City's baseball fans, however, the dramatic confrontation with Alexander was simply another installment in a four-year love affair with the young San Francisco infielder who earned his nickname "Poosh 'em up" while playing with the Salt Lake Bees.[7] In this article I intend to do two things. First, provide a brief overview of Lazzeri's career in Salt Lake City. Second, examine in some detail his splendid 1925 season, and the circumstances surrounding his still-standing Pacific Coast League (PCL) record of sixty home runs.

[3] John Tullis, *I'd Rather Be a Yankee: An Oral History of America's Most Loved and Most Hated Baseball Team* (New York: MacMillan, 1986), 87.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Two years later Lazzeri would again face Alexander in the World Series with different results. In Lazzeri's words, "I cleaned the sacks with a double. The reason I remember it is that Bill McKechnie, who was managing the 1928 Cardinals, walked Bob Meusel to fill the bases to get to me." Still, many fans seemed only to remember "that damn time I struck out." See Bob Considine columns, September 8, 1945, clipping in the Tony Lazzeri file, National Baseball Hall of Fame, Research Library, Cooperstown, New York.

[6] Larry Baldassaro, "Lazzeri to DiMaggio to Giamatti: Italian-Americans in Baseball." Paper presented at the "Diamonds in the Desert Conference," Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, March, 1998. Baldassaro regards baseball as an important "piece in the process of assimilation for Italian-Americans." Calling Lazzeri a "transitional figure" preceding Joe DiMaggio, Frank Crosetti, Yogi Berra and others, he notes that by 1941, 8 percent of major league ballplayers were Italian-American.

[7] The great sportswriter, Shirley Povich, inaccurately wrote that the nickname had been given Tony Lazzeri by New York writer, Damon Runyon, and was a "sobriquet that pleased New York Italians." The second part of the assertion was no doubt true. See *Washington Post*, August 9, 1946.

Prior to that, however, it might be worthwhile to give a brief overview of the significance of the Pacific Coast League in the development of baseball, and a summary of Salt Lake City's stint in the league.

The PCL was organized in 1903, and between then and 1957 was considered one of the most important minor leagues in the country, and viewed by many observers as the equivalent of a third major league in talent and level of play. Such an assessment may be particularly true of the league during the decade of the 1920s when "the era of home runs and big innings was dawning on the West Coast."[8] As two chroniclers of the league, Paul J. Zingg and Mark D. Medeiros, have observed, during that decade, the PCL "offered something for everyone: tight pennant races, heroic performances, zany characters, great ballparks, stable franchises, intense rivalries, dazzling pitching, and spectacular hitting."[9]

R. Scott Mackey holds a similar view. As he notes, the "self-indulgent decade" of the 1920s, sandwiched between the end of World War I and the Great Depression, produced a period of "good cheer and decadence." During that same decade the PCL "gave the baseball-mad West Coast more than its money's worth," and produced an exceptionally talented crop of players. It is "hard to imagine," Mackey asserts, another time or place in minor league history "filled with as many great stars, teams or characters." PCL rosters featured many "major league names, either those on the way up, those on the way down, or those who simply preferred the PCL and its long seasons, decent pay and exciting style of play." And while the league may have "resided a notch below the National and American leagues in the official hierarchy of organized baseball, it was not for lack of quality or color."[10]

The Salt Lake Bees came into the PCL in time for the 1915 season, leaving after the 1925 season when the franchise relocated to Hollywood, California.[11] In the eleven seasons it was part of the league, Salt Lake City never finished above second (ironically in the first and last seasons), and usually ended up in the middle of the eight-team final standings. In 1925, the league featured teams in five California cities—San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, and Vernon, as well as Seattle, Washington, Portland, Oregon, and Salt Lake City.

During those years, the Salt Lake Bees were noted as a "hitting team."

[8] The literature on the Pacific Coast League is substantial. Two of the best studies are R. Scott Mackey, *Barbary Baseball: The Pacific Coast League of the 1920s* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1995), and Paul J. Zingg and Mark D. Medeiros, *Runs, Hits and an Era: The Pacific Coast League, 1903-1958* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

[9] Zingg and Medeiros, *Runs, Hits, and an Era*, 48.

[10] Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 1. As he notes, more than "90 all-time great minor leaguers as recognized by the Society for American Baseball Research, hundreds of major leaguers, and nine future Hall of Famers—Earl Averill, Harry Hooper, Sam Crawford, Lefty Gomez, Ernie Lombardi, Mickey Cochrane, Tony Lazzeri, and Paul and Lloyd Waner—starred in the PCL during the decade."

[11] Ironically, Salt Lake City returned to the Pacific Coast League in 1958 when the Hollywood Stars moved in the wake of the shift of the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Giants to Los Angeles and San Francisco respectively.

Almost every season they led the league in some combination of average, runs and home runs. The team was particularly dominant in 1923 and 1924, when it posted a league leading team batting average in both seasons, and led with an average of 7 runs per game in 1924, and a season total of 204 home runs in 1923. Bees pitchers compiled significant success only in 2 seasons: 1915, when Claude "Lefty" Williams led the league with 33 wins, 418 innings pitched, and 294 strike outs.[12] Salt Lake City lefthander Paul Fittery led with 203 strikeouts and 448 innings pitched in 1916.[13]

Lazzeri, (though frequently spelled La Zerre in the newspapers of the time), began his professional baseball career in Salt Lake City in 1922.[14] That spring, he came to the Bees training camp at Modesto, California's, "Camp Lewis," (named for the team's manager Duffy Lewis) in the words of *Salt Lake Tribune* sportswriter, John C. Derks, "a green kid off the lots." Derks was a legendary figure in Utah baseball history, and his opinions were valued. He was born in Weston, Missouri, on August 6, 1873, and moved to Wisconsin where he learned to be a telegrapher, working for both the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific railroads. By the turn of the century, Derks was a newspaper reporter for the *Anaconda Standard* and the *Helena Montana Record*. In 1907 the *Salt Lake Herald* hired Derks, and two years later he joined the *Salt Lake Tribune* as a reporter and city editor. He began covering baseball in 1911, when he also helped organize the Union Association league. It was in part his efforts that brought Salt Lake City a team in the Pacific Coast League in 1915, and he later helped organize the Utah-Idaho League as well as the Pioneer League. Derks died in 1944, and his impact on Utah baseball was celebrated with the naming of the city's baseball stadium Derks Field at the corner of 13th South and West Temple in 1946.[15]

But Derks was not alone in his assessment. Quickly, the veteran players themselves realized that Lazzeri had "the size, the hands, some speed, the aggressiveness," and the arm to turn him into a fine baseball talent.[16] The *Salt Lake Tribune* called him a "promising utility man" among the six new faces in camp.[17]

[12] After leaving Salt Lake City, Williams had a solid career in the major leagues with the Chicago White Sox. Appearing in 183 games he had a record of 82 wins and 48 losses Ironically, today he is best known as one of the eight "Chicago Black Sox" players banned from baseball for their role in fixing the 1919 World Series. For a full account see Eliot Asinof, *Eight Men Out: The Black Sox and the 1919 World Series* (New York: Henry Holt, 1987).

[13] Fittery's performance with Salt Lake City earned the thirty-year old pitcher a second trip to the major leagues in 1917. Appearing in seventeen games, he posted a record of one win and one loss and a 4.53 ERA with the Philadelphia Phillies. Prior to that in 1914 Fittery had appeared in eight games with the Cincinnati Reds where he lost two games and failed to win any.

[14] Lazzeri was not atypical of many players in the Pacific Coast League. As R. Scott Mackey observes, "Most of the talent came from the West, a preponderance from the baseball-rich San Francisco Bay area. Players were, quite often, the sons of Italian and Irish immigrants. See Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 3.

[15] *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 9, 1944.

[16] Ibid., December 31, 1995.

[17] Ibid, April 3, 1922.

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Bonneville Baseball Park, 1917. Characterized by Babe Ruth as a "cracker box" in overall dimension.

Signed by team president H. W. Lane, "with an eye to the future," Lazzeri played sparingly for the Bees in 1922, appearing in only forty-five games, mostly at first base.[18] Opening day that year in Salt Lake City was postponed because of snow, and a number of other early games were called due to inclement weather. (On April 17 fourteen inches of snow covered the city.) While the young rookie was not in the lineup before "2500 baseball craving daredevils" on the cold and wintry opening day of April 6, he did have the opportunity to see his first snowstorm. A week later Lazzeri played two innings at first base where, in the words of the *Tribune*, he "made a number of difficult plays" and performed "with credit."[19] In limited service that year, Lazzeri had a batting average of just .192 with 15 hits, 1 home run and 8 RBI in 78 at bats.[20]

Lazzeri split the 1923 and 1924 seasons between Salt Lake City, Peoria, Illinois, of the "3-I" League, (made up of teams in Illinois, Indiana and Iowa,) and Lincoln, Nebraska, of the Western League.[21] In the second half of the 1924 season, Lazzeri appeared in 85 games for the Bees, compiling a .283 batting average with 83 hits, 16 home runs, 61 RBI and 51 runs scored. Still learning his craft in the field, the twenty-year old shortstop made 44 errors with a fielding average of .900. Lazzeri's numbers in Salt

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., April 15, 1922.

[20] Lazzeri also pitched briefly in a game on July 21, 1922. He gave up 5 runs in a 22 to 5 "shellacking" by Portland. He struck out 1 and walked 4 in his brief appearance. See *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 22, 1922.

[21] Apparently the shifting between Salt Lake City and other minor league clubs took its toll on Lazzeri. According to his obituary, Lazzeri almost quit baseball in 1924. He became discouraged when he was "optioned to the Eastern League, decided to quit and advised the Salt Lake club of his decision. He stayed out of the game for about ten days and then found a place with the Lincoln team in the Western League." *New York Times*, August 7, 1943.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Community Ball Park, 1300 South and West Temple, became the ball park for Salt Lake's professional baseball teams after the 1925 baseball season.

Lake City combined with even stronger performances in the lower minors, where both his offensive and defensive statistics were better, left local fans anticipating the 1925 season. As it turned out they would not be disappointed.

When the 1925 season opened, the *Tribune* commented that "great things are expected from 'our Tone' this year," since Lazzeri had gotten "the call" as starting shortstop over Johnny Kerr.[22] Lazzeri's season started quickly, and he played regularly. On April 16, he smacked two home runs, according to the *Tribune*, after "having partaken of an extra order of ham and eggs."[23]

During his years in Utah's capitol city, Lazzeri also made his mark off the field as well, especially with the local Italian-American community. Lazzeri attracted the attention of avid baseball fan Cesare Rinetti, who, along with his partner Francesco Capitolo, owned the Rotisserie Inn restaurant at 323 South Main Street in downtown Salt Lake City.[24] According to local sports legend, Rinetti became a kind of stepfather to Tony, and later his wife Maye, providing a sense of home, and feeding them good Italian food. On May 23, 1925, Rinetti was at the ballpark urging Lazzeri on. At one point he shouted out, "Poosh 'em up Tony" and the crowd joined in. Lazzeri responded with a home run over the center field fence, and later added a double to finish with 3 RBI in Salt Lake's 12 to 2 trouncing of Seattle. He also earned a nickname that would stay with him for the rest of his baseball career. The next day the *Tribune* proclaimed, in a banner headline written by John C. Derks, who, in the words of journalist Hal Schindler had "a penchant" for getting more into a headline than in the story, "Poosh em up

[22] *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 5, 1925. For an overview of the season itself, see Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 90-107.

[23] Ibid., April 17, 1925.

[24] According to advertisements in the *Polk Salt Lake City Directory*, the restaurant specialized in French and Italian food, styled itself the "talk of the town," and said it was "famous" for its trout, steak and chicken dinners.

Tone, Yella da fan, an Tone she Poosh." That same day in a double-header the Bees swept two more games from the Seattle Indians 5 to 4 in the first game, and 11 to 8 in the second. Lazzeri went 1 for 4 in the first game, and 2 for 2 with 2 triples in the second game. Again the *Tribune* proclaimed, "Tone She poosh um Down an' Den She Poosh Um Up." Sportswriter Derks also noted that in the first game, "Our Tone saved the Bees on numerous occasions by his sensational fielding. But for LaZerre's thrilling plays there is little doubt that the Injuns would have prevailed."[25] After that, notes Hal Schindler, it was several months before Derks "fell back on the [Italian] dialect."[26]

Indeed, Lazzeri's success on the ball diamond of Salt Lake City came during an interesting time for Italian-Americans in Utah. During 1924-25, the Ku Klux Klan was active in the state creating "tension, anger and fear" among the immigrant population who "lived in a state of uncertainty." While Lazzeri's baseball exploits were lauded in the press, and cheered by baseball fans, residents of Salt Lake City also witnessed a KKK state convention held at Ensign Peak, just at the north edge of the city, which featured "burning crosses illuminating the area."[27]

While Salt Lake City's Italian-American population was small at the time—somewhere around 1000 residents—no doubt they viewed Lazzeri's exploits as a useful corrective to the nativist sentiments of the Klan and its supporters. At the same time, the obvious talent of an Italian-American like Lazzeri, competing so successfully in the national pastime, must have been a source of pride for the children of immigrant parents seeking to make their way in the larger society.

As the season progressed, Lazzeri attracted notice not only in Salt Lake City, and throughout the Pacific Coast League, but also among scouts and baseball fans nationally.[28] By June, Derks reported that the New York Yankees were planning to spend $250,000 to acquire minor league players to strengthen their team in the coming year, and Lazzeri was one of the

[25] Ibid., May 25, 1925.

[26] See also *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 16, 1959. Derks' use of dialect was not atypical of the style of the *Tribune*. The day before the paper had headlined on the Bees double header win over the Seattle Indians that "Ya Can Hold a Dance on Those Two, Red" noting that the Bees "twice beat the injuns." See *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 23, 1925.

[27] Philip F. Notarianni, "Italianita in Utah: The Immigrant Experience," in Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 323-24. The first weekend in October 1925 the KKK held a large parade in Salt Lake City. The parade terminated at Walker's baseball field located on 800 South between Main and State Street just a block north of Bonneville Ball Park. Tony Lazzeri and the Bees were on the road playing teams in the Pacific Northwest. See Larry R. Gerlach, *Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah* (Logan: Utah State University, 1982).

[28] In April 1925, Howard Doyle mentioned Lazzeri to August Herrman, President of the Cincinnati Reds, calling him a "very likely prospect" who if not "capable of making the grade this year" was young enough to "farm him out for a year or so in a strong minor league." Doyle assured Herrman that Lazzeri was "one of the best looking ball players in the minor leagues," and encouraged him to "make every effort to secure him." See Howard Doyle to August Herrman, April 9 and 14, 1925, Tony Lazzeri File, National Baseball Hall of Fame, Research Library, Cooperstown, New York.

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Baseball fans filled Bonneville Ball Park to watch Tony Lazzeri hit the long ball. Fans probably at Bonneville Ball Park, 1911.

players being looked at by the New York scouts.[29] Two months later, Derks pointed out that Lazzeri was still a valuable prospect since he was leading the PCL in home runs with 33, just 10 behind the 43 hit by Paul Strand in 1923.[30] But Lazzeri had plenty of time left to increase his home run totals, and enhance his potential major league value.

By October of that year, Lazzeri had moved to 56 and again Derks opted for his dialect headlines:

October 3 "Our Tone She Poosh Em Oop for da Feefty Seex"

October 12 "Our Tone, She Poosh Um Oop Two Time, Maka da Feefty Eight"

October 18 "The Bambino, He's got Nothing on Our Tone Now"

Lazzeri had hit number 59, tying Babe Ruth's home run record set in 1921 playing for the New York Yankees.

October 19 "Gooda da Tone, She Poosh Um Up for Beat Bambino"

Lazzeri had hit number 60 in the last game of the season.

The 1925 season proved to be a remarkable one for Lazzeri, who became, in the words of R. Scott Mackey, the "PCL's Mr. Everything."[31] Playing in 197 games, second only to teammate Lefty O'Doul's 198, Lazzeri not only hit 60 homers, 222 RBI, and 202 runs (all three PCL records that still stand), but finished with 252 hits, 39 stolen bases and a

[29] The Yankees purchased Lazzeri's contract on August 1, 1925, with plans to bring him to Spring training in 1926. The *New York Times* called Lazzeri the "king pin shortstop of the minors," indicating that since "three or four other major league clubs were bidding for him, it is believed that he cost enough money to fill a bushel basket." See *New York Times*, August 2, 1925.

[30] Strand was one of the most accomplished hitters who ever put on a Bees uniform. In 1923, he had 325 hits which is still a professional record for hits in a season. See Dennis Snelling, *The Pacific Coast League: A Statistical History, 1903-1957* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 1995), 232.

[31] Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 95.

.355 batting average.[32] As previously noted, Lazzeri's contract was purchased from the Bees by the New York Yankees.[33]

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Salt Lake's Main Street, 1925.

But the story does not stop here. In later years the validity of Lazzeri's feat, and the nature of the final home run he hit while playing for the Salt Lake Bees, was questioned. In July 1969, *Tribune* sports writer John Mooney in his "Sports Mirror" column asked: "Was Lazzeri's 60th Homer Entitled to an Asterisk?" Mooney quotes author Pete Raymond who contended that Bees manager Oscar Vitt had Lazzeri lead off and when he came to bat in the seventh inning of the final game of the season, "every player in the field knew the Coast League's chances for notoriety rode on his bat." Consequently, when Lazzeri hit the ball to center field the "Sacramento outfielder, brimming with league loyalty, ran away from the ball. At length he jogged back, picked it up, counted the stitches and lobbed it toward the infield while Lazzeri raced around the bases. In the press box a generous scorer marked up Tony's 60th homer. It really was a single and a three-base error."[34]

Similar charges came from sportswriter Bill Conlin who called number sixty a "tainted" homer. Conlin noted that the last game of the season, especially if the pennant wasn't involved, was traditionally a "high jinx occasion." Under these circumstances, Sacramento's talented center fielder, Bill Cunningham deliberately misplayed Lazzeri's line drive single over second base. According to Conlin, Cunningham "went to his right, then reversed to his left, and meanwhile the ball went into the deepest segment of center field," while Lazzeri "rounded the bases for Home Run No. 60.

[32] Lazzeri would return to the PCL after his major league career ended. In 1941 he played in 102 games with the San Francisco Seals finishing the season with 78 hits, 39 RBI, 3 home runs, and a .248 batting average. See Snelling, *The Pacific Coast League*, 203.

[33] *New York Times*, August 7, 1943. According to Mark Gallagher, *The Yankee Encyclopedia* (Champaign, Illinois: Sagamore, 1996), 137-38, Lazzeri was signed for $60,000 on the advice of head scout, Paul Krichell. R. Scott Mackey, on the other hand, states the Yankees struck the deal for $35,000 and five players. See Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 96.

[34] *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 11, 1969.

Surprisingly, nobody paid too much attention to it....[35]

Additional evidence to suggest that Lazzeri's sixtieth homer might be suspect is found in the press coverage, both in Salt Lake City and Sacramento. Though Salt Lake papers mentioned the record in their headlines, there was little discussion of the home run itself in the coverage. In fact, the *Deseret News* mistakenly said the ball was hit over the fence. The *Tribune* mentioned only the "wild rejoicing among the Bees," when their shortstop touched all four bases.[36] The *Sacramento Bee*, however, provides more evidence to support assertions that the homer was tainted. Calling the contest a "typical closing game" with "no serious play predominating," the paper noted that the "boys just hit the ball and kept running.... Lazerre was presented with the final four base drive...."[37]

Finally, there is the reminiscence of Rudy Hickey, a longtime sports writer for the *Bee* who had covered the game. Writing in 1948, Hickey recalled that "Tony was pumping for the fence on every pitch and the [Sacramento] pitchers were helping at times by laying the ball up in his favorite spot." Despite this help, Lazzeri's failure to homer in Sacramento's Moering Field, a difficult home run park, in the first game of the double header made it necessary for the Sacramento Senators to "manufacture" a Lazzeri home run in the second game.[38] In a variant of what Bill Conlin reported above, according to Hickey, Lazzeri's San Francisco neighbor, Sacramento center fielder Bill Cunningham "went over and stood next to the right fielder" while spitball pitcher Frank Shellenback "eased the ball right down the slot."[39] Lazzeri slammed the pitch over second base for what under ordinary conditions might have been a single or put out. On this occasion, however, Cunningham "made sure Tony would have ten minutes if needed to circle the bases, trotting behind the ball without making any effort to cut it off as it rolled and rolled."[40]

Aside from the question of the homer itself, some have suggested that Lazzeri's record came as a result of playing in Salt Lake City's high altitude

[35] *The Sporting News*, June 29, 1974.

[36] See Salt Lake Tribune and *Deseret News*, October 19, 1925. The latter paper also defensively, and erroneously, asserted that Lazzeri, "hit approximately half of his homers on foreign fields this season so he can scarcely be termed a 'rarified atmosphere hitter' as some of his predecessors ... from the Bees were labeled."

[37] *Sacramento Bee*, October 19, 1925. Banner headlines in the *Sacramento Union* of the same date also proclaimed Lazzeri's success in beating Ruth's record.

[38] Sacramento's Buffalo Park was enlarged and renovated in 1922 at a cost of $100,000 to become Moering Field. The new stadium held 10,000 fans, an increase of 4,000 over the older park. With a left field distance of 320 feet, and a right field distance of 330 feet, coupled with a 20-foot wooden fence, the stadium was not considered a home run park.

[39] An experienced pitcher, Shellenback spent parts of the 1918 and 1919 seasons with the Chicago White Sox. Appearing in 36 major league games, he compiled an 11 and 14 record with a .306 ERA. Shellenback pitched in the PCL from 1920-38. During the 1925 season with Sacramento, he appeared in 38 games with a record of 14 wins and 17 losses, and a .327 ERA. In 264 innings pitched that year, Shellenback struck out 91, walked 61 and gave up 297 hits. See Lloyd Johnson, ed., *The Minor League Register* (Durham, North Carolina: Baseball America, 1994), 422.

[40] As quoted in John E. Spalding, *Sacramento Senators and Solons: Baseball in California's Capital, 1876-1976* (Manhattan, KS: AG Press, 1995), 7.

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Rotisserie Inn Restaurant, 323 South Main, Tony Lazzeri's favorite restaurant.

making for a light atmosphere, which was conducive for hitting the long ball. There is some evidence to support this assertion, particularly when you combine it with the possibility of poor pitching in the PCL. At the same time, it might be well to remember that, in the words of R. Scott Mackey; most PCL ballparks "were cozy bandboxes that made for slugfests."[41] In that regard, it might be worthwhile to take a close look at home run statistics during the period 1915-1925, when Salt Lake City first entered the PCL. In that eleven-year period, a Salt Lake Bee led or tied in the home run column eight times. Earl Sheely hit 28 and 33 in 1919 and 1920 respectively. Paddy Siglin led the league in 1921 with 22. Paul Strand garnered the title with 28 in 1922, then established the season record with 43 in 1923. At the same time, it should be remembered that in the decade after Salt Lake left the league, the leading home run mark ranged from Fred Muller's low of 38 for Seattle in 1932, to Los Angeles slugger Eugene Lillard's 56 in 1935. The average high mark for that period was 46 homers per year.[42]

In 1925 when Lazzeri set his record, three other players had more than 30 homers: Ray Rohwer of Portland, 40; Frank Brower of San Francisco, 36; and, Les Sheehan of Salt Lake at 33. Both Rohwer and Brower, unlike Lazzeri, had previous major league experience. Eleven others had 20 or more homers. Of that group, two—Lefty O' Doul and Fred Coumbe both of Salt Lake—had 24 and 21 respectively. During the 1925 season 879 homers were hit in the PCL. As a team Salt Lake led the league with 197 homers. The average per team was 110. Moreover, if you look at the number of homers hit by all players who had at least one home run during the season, the statistic is approximately 8 per player. Among all players with 15 or more plate appearances the average is still 7. Salt Lake City also led the league with a team average of .321, just a bit ahead of San Francisco's second place .315.[43]

[41] Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 2.
[42] See Snelling, *The Pacific Coast League: A Statistical History, 1903-57*.
[43] For statistics see *The Reach Official American League Guide*. (Philadelphia: A. J. Reach, 1926), 321-32.

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The Rotisserie Inn was owned by Cesare Rinetti and Francesco Capitolo.

Finally, of Lazzeri's 60 home runs 39 were hit in Salt Lake, and 8 came in Los Angeles's Washington Park.[44] The other 13 were scattered throughout the league's other parks. As might be expected the right handed Lazzeri hit 47 home runs off right handed pitchers with the other 13 coming off left handers. During the season 13 pitchers accounted for 37 of his home runs with San Francisco's Bob "Speed" Geary, and Sacramento's Billy Hughes, both right handers with previous major league experience, accounting for 5 each, all hit at Salt Lake's Bonneville Park. Moreover, Lazzeri hit 29 home runs, nearly half of his total, in June and September, and compiled 37 one home run games, 10 two home run games and a 3 home run game.[45]

Tony Lazzeri's 1925 season, and especially his home run record, has been of interest to baseball fans for many years. More than two decades ago I decided to explore the question further. I was unable to locate anyone who had actually played in the game between Salt Lake and Sacramento, but I was able to correspond with a handful of old timers who had spent time in the PCL in the 1920s. These men, most of whom in their eighties or nineties, with, as it would turn out, only a few years left to live, remembered the 1925 season and playing in Salt Lake vividly. Their recollections help us better understand that distant era in Salt Lake City's baseball lore.

Portland catcher Charlie Rowland remembered Salt Lake simply as a "hitter's park."[46] Similarly, former Bees pitcher Walter "Huck" Betts recalled that when he pitched his first game in Salt Lake City, he had experienced "rawness in my throat and chest." After that he became "acclimated to the high altitude and had no more problems." Still, as a pitcher, he commented that it was "well known that the ball carried better in high altitude." He also recalled that Salt Lake City's small Bonneville Park "made it easier for

[44] Bonneville Park was located on the grounds of the old Salt Palace, south of Ninth South between Main and State Streets. The distance down the right field line measured 319 feet, it was 408 feet to dead center, and left field was 308 feet. No doubt the short left field presented right-handed Lazzeri with a tempting target. See Larry Zuckerman, Mss A-6221, Utah State Historical Society.

[45] Lazzeri only hit 2 home runs in Sacramento his 59th and 60th. The 59th was the only one he hit off the right-hander Speed Martin, and his 60th was one of two he hit off Frank Shellenback. The other home run off Shellenback came in Salt Lake on July 30, one of ten he would hit against the Sacramento team. I am indebted for this information to a list of home runs compiled by Carlos Bauer and Larry Gerlach.

hitters to get home runs. Also pitching in high altitude, the pitcher can not get the movement on the ball that one can get in lower altitudes."[47]

Ray Rohwer, who played for Portland in 1925, did not recall hearing of the charges leveled by Mooney, Conlin, Hickey, and others, and discounted their validity. As he stated: "I do not know any reason why the Sacramento club would feel that it owed Tony a gift home run. He had a big year that did not need help from anyone."[48]

On the subject of Salt Lake City's Bonneville Park as a hitter's park, Rohwer, a .300 hitter who hit 37 home runs playing for Seattle in 1923, and, as previously mentioned, was second to Lazzeri in 1925 with 40, recalled that he never had "good luck" hitting in Salt Lake, and "never found out why." In assessing Salt Lake's reputation as a "hitters park," Rohwer said he believed the reputation was due to three things: "The park was small, the air was thin and the pitchers were afraid to throw strikes. They tried to make the batter hit bad balls. That put them behind the count and ended up in having to pitch a ball down the middle."[49]

Portland pitcher Bonnie Hollingsworth, who had played in the big leagues for Pittsburgh, Washington, and Brooklyn, recalled that the "atmosphere in Salt Lake was best described by their catcher who said because of the high altitude," it was like playing in a room with a "transom." As he remembered it, there wasn't "a shut out pitched in their park the whole year," and remembered that a "curve ball in Salt Lake was not at all effective."[50]

Hollingsworth thought of Lazzeri as his "best friend," saying that the two ate together frequently. Despite Rohwer's assertion, Hollingsworth, recognizing that Lazzeri was "trying for the record," served up Lazzeri's fifty-fifth home run. He remembered it as "the longest ball ever hit in the Portland ball park. I told him what I was going to throw him."[51]

Added to these assessments is the view of Jimmie Reese, former Yankee teammate of Lazzeri. Noting that he had not heard of any questions surrounding Lazzeri's sixtieth home run, Reese, who played in the PCL in the 1920s and 1930s, commented that undoubtedly the high altitude in Salt Lake, "played a prominent role in many of the home runs hit in that area. Yet—in all fairness to Tony's feat—he emulated anyone else who played with him in that period." Reese also commented that pitchers, "with limited control naturally were the victims of the onslaught, so to speak, and they suffered accordingly. Wherever one plays baseball ... unless you throw strikes you just don't figure to win."[52]

[46] Charlie Rowland to author, February 6, 1986.
[47] Walter "Huck" Betts to author, February 10,1986.
[48] Ray Rohwer to author, January 17, 1986.
[49] Ibid., February 4, 1986.
[50] J. B. "Bonnie" Hollingsworth to author, February 19, 1986. See also Hollingsworth's memoir *Were You Ever a Rookie?* (Knoxville, Tennessee: Padd Letter Service, 1985).
[51] Ibid.
[52] Jimmie Reese to author, March 8, 1986.

JOHN SILLITO COLLECTION

Pictured here, Salt Lake Bees shortstop Johnny Kerr was replaced by Tony "Poosh 'em up" Lazzeri at the beginning of the

Finally, another perspective came in an interview I conducted with Lazzeri's widow, Maye, whom he married in 1923. She remembered the times fondly, calling Salt Lake a "beautiful and clean city" where the fans took an interest in the players and their families. This was particularly true, she recalled, on the part of Rinetti and others in the Italian-American community as far as the Lazzeri's were concerned, but with other fans as well. She remembered that fans would throw money to Lazzeri when he hit home runs, and he became "so excited because we could use it."[53] Most of the time Maye would stay in San Francisco to work, visiting her husband when she could. Even though they were "flat broke" she recalled: "After a game Tony liked to unwind. Someone would lend us a car and we would often drive up to a place in the canyons just to enjoy the scenery and have dinner. Tony didn't bring his problems home from the ball park, he left them there."[54]

Perhaps understandably, Maye Lazzeri was somewhat defensive about charges that her husband's sixty home run mark was somehow suspect because of high altitude and bad pitching. "People would say after Tony hit those home runs in 1925 it was because of the thin air. But if that were true how come it hasn't been done since?" Moreover, as a good right handed, center field hitter, she argued, Lazzeri still hit a fair number of home runs in Yankee Stadium. "In fact, if he had been a left handed hitter in Yankee Stadium he would have hit many more than he did. A right handed hitter had it tough in New York."[55]

[53] Maye Lazzeri's recollections are supported by contemporary accounts. According to the *Sporting News* the slugging by the Bees hitters was so successful during one particular game that fans "rushed out on the field that day and threw dollars and halves at the fence busters. They went simply daffy over Tony." As quoted in Mackey, *Barbary Baseball*, 96.

[54] Maye Lazzeri, telephone interview with author, March 1986.

[55] Ibid. Maye Lazzeri would live long enough to attend the ceremonies inducting her husband into the Hall of Fame in 1991.

Lazzeri continued to hold a fondness for Utah's capitol, and visited occasionally in later years as he crossed the country between his San Francisco home and New York. Longtime Yankee player and coach Frank Crosetti recalled that in 1932, he and Lazzeri stopped in Salt Lake City while driving back home after the season. At the time, Lazzeri and his younger teammate visited many of Tony's friends from the time he had played in Salt Lake, and dined at Rinetti's restaurant.[56]

Another visitor to Salt Lake City with more than a passing interest in Lazzeri's 60 home run record, was none other than Babe Ruth, the "Bambino" himself. Visiting after his own 1927 60 home run season, Ruth complained to local writers and fans that every time he hit a home run, Lazzeri would "rib him a little and say `That`s nothing, I got 60 out in the Coast League.'" The Babe said the teasing made him so "confounded mad" he had to go out and get 60 also. Writing the day after Ruth's death in 1948, *Deseret News* sports writer Les Goates recalled that during the visit the Babe had demanded to see the Salt Lake ballpark

> We hopped a cab, along with some other baseball devotees and dashed down to Bonneville Park. When the Babe looked over that diminutive layout he exclaimed, "Well I'll be dog-goned. If that guy couldn't hit more than 60 in this cracker box he'd better not blow his top at me anymore. Wait till I see that Poosh em up Tony guy![57]

It's nearly eighty years since that "Poosh em up Tony guy" captured the imagination and affection of Salt Lake City's baseball fans. Many other players have passed through the town—some on their way to the "show," others coming from there, many more toiling in lifetime minor league careers. Of that number "Our Tone" remains one of the most celebrated.

[56] Maye Lazzeri interview. Frank Crosetti, telephone interview with author, March 1986.
[57] *Deseret News*, August 17, 1948.

OGDEN STANDARD-EXAMINER, JUNE 17, 1966

The Era of Tommy Lasorda: The Ogden Dodgers, 1966-1968

By CLIFF HIGHT

> We had more damn fun with those kids…. It was a great bunch of guys with outstanding talent. The main thing that I was proud of was, in the three years that I was here, we never once had a problem with the police, never had a problem with any of our players getting in trouble. We loved it up here. Ogden was a great, clean city, a great place for a family, and the people here were so nice and treated us royally.[1]

Tommy Lasorda, the former manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers baseball team, made these remarks at a September 26, 2002, press conference in Ogden, Utah. He accompanied Dodger officials who announced they had reached a four-year player-development agreement with the Ogden Raptors of the rookie level Pioneer League, a reunion between baseball teams in Ogden and Los

Tommy Lasorda, left, with Larry Hutton of the Ogden Dodgers.

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[1] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 27, 2002.

Angeles, after a separation of nearly thirty years.[2] The significance of this reuniting is magnified once one knows about Lasorda's original tenure in Ogden as the manager of the Ogden Dodgers from 1966 to 1968. Since the story of "The Tommy Years" has yet to be recorded, this article examines the talent and success during the "Era of Lasorda."

In order to provide a clearer picture of professional baseball in Ogden during the 1960s, a brief background of professional baseball in the city is necessary. More than 130 years ago, one of Ogden's earliest encounters with baseball occurred in 1870 when it hosted the territorial championship of amateur teams.[3] It was not until after the turn of the twentieth century that Ogden fielded a professional team. Throughout the twentieth century, Ogden's professional teams have had monikers familiar and unfamiliar, like Mackmen, Gunners, Reds, Dodgers, Spikers, A's, and Raptors. In 1901 the Inter-Mountain League briefly appeared, with Ogden, Salt Lake City, Lagoon, and Park City as members. At the season's end, Ogden was atop the standings with a record of thirty-one wins and ten losses.[4]

Ogden hosted its second professional team in 1912 when John J. McCloskey relocated his team from Montana to Ogden and began the season as the creatively named Ogden Mackmen in the minor league Union Association.[5] The Association folded shortly thereafter, and it was 1926 before another professional team landed in Ogden. The Ogden City Gunners played with teams from northern Utah and southern Idaho in the Utah-Idaho League, but the short-lived league disbanded in 1928.[6]

Again another decade passed before professional baseball returned when the Cincinnati Reds affiliated with Ogden in the newly formed Pioneer Baseball League in 1939.[7] After four seasons, the league suspended play for the duration of World War II. Numerous wartime restrictions including the draft and the rationing of gasoline and electricity made playing impossible as in other minor leagues as well. Interest in baseball exploded throughout the nation and at all levels after the war. And with this renewed interest came the integration of baseball in 1946 when professional baseball's first black player, Jackie Robinson, joined the Montreal Royals, a minor league

[2] Ibid.

[3] Larry R. Gerlach, "The Best in the West? Corinne, Utah's First Baseball Champions," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1968): 108-35.

[4] Lloyd Johnson and Miles Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball: The Official Record of Minor League Baseball* (Durham, NC: Baseball America, Inc., 1997), 127.

[5] Charles P. Treft, "We're Now a Baseball Town: The History of How Ogden Obtained Its First Modern Professional Baseball Team," MS 1997, Special Collections, Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah. Teams in the Union Association in 1912 were based in Butte, Great Falls, Helena, and Missoula, Montana; and Ogden and Salt Lake City, Utah.

[6] Johnson and Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, 40. Teams in the 1926 Utah-Idaho League were the Idaho Falls Spuds, Logan Collegians, Ogden Gunners, Pocatello Bannocks, Salt Lake City Bees, and Twin Falls Bruins.

[7] According to the Pioneer League web site, the teams in the inaugural season of the Pioneer League were the Boise Pilots, Lewiston Indians, Ogden Reds, Pocatello Cardinals, Salt Lake City Bees, and Twin Falls Cowboys.

team of the Brooklyn Dodgers.[8] This popularity upsurge in the Intermountain West led the Pioneer League to expand to eight teams, adding Great Falls and Billings, in 1948.

However, a huge attendance slump in the 1950s halted all expansion, which caused more than half of the minor leagues to fold. The Pioneer League's analysis of declining attendance stated, "A new American lifestyle involving such luxuries as television, air-conditioning, and suburban living was making itself felt at the ball parks. Yearly attendance for the eight-team Pioneer League in 1951 dropped below that of the six-team inaugural year, and attendance over the next decade continued to seek new lows."[9]

This decline eventually led Cincinnati to desert Ogden after low attendance brought large financial losses during the final two seasons of the working agreement with Ogden. Jack Schroeder, baseball writer for the *Salt Lake Tribune* in the 1950s, quoted the Cincinnati Reds general manager as saying, "Ogden fell way behind in the 1955 ticket drive and our organization lost $33,000 this season…. In 1954 we lost better than $30,000 on the Ogden operation."[10] Despite Pioneer League championships in 1940 and 1941, playoff appearances in 1948, 1951, and 1953, as well as a multitude of talented players, including future Hall of Famer Frank Robinson, the stagnant turnstiles left Ogden again without a professional baseball team.[11]

For most of their time in Ogden, the Reds played at Affleck Park, a field located south of 33rd Street between Wall Avenue and Union Pacific Avenue, which had a wooden grandstand and benches that seated between twenty-five hundred and four thousand over the years. Built in the 1940s, it was a mainstay for Ogden baseball over the next forty years despite a couple of quirks. Dutch Belnap, general manager of the Ogden Dodgers in 1967 and 1968, recalled that the players' facilities at Affleck Park had a dressing room for each team, but with one shower and one toilet in each room. Yet, Joe Critchlow, a play-by-play radio announcer for Ogden Dodgers games, thought it was "a nice place to watch a ballgame, no bad seats." While the seats for fans were fine, batters thought otherwise. Affleck's playing field was situated so that a right-handed batter looked directly into the sun in the late afternoon or evening. Steve Garvey, who played for the

[8] Technically, Robinson was not the first black to play professional baseball. John Holway, in *The Complete Book of Baseball's Negro Leagues*, pages 16, 17, and 20, identifies John "Bud" Fowler as the first black to play professional baseball. He played in 1878 for the Lynn, Massachusetts, team in the International Association. A number of others, including Moses Fleetwood Walker, George Stovey, and Frank Ulysses Grant, played with professional teams in the nineteenth century. The significance of Jackie Robinson is that he broke down the color barrier that shrouded the National League and American League throughout the first half of the twentieth century providing the way for baseball's integration.

[9] The Pioneer Baseball League, "A Brief History of The Pioneer Baseball League, Part 1: The Early Years, 1939-1963," *The Pioneer Baseball League*, 2001, *http://pioneerleague.com/History/part1.htm:* accessed July 16, 2004.

[10] *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 16, 1955.

[11] The Pioneer Baseball League, "Early Standings 1939-1963," *The Pioneer Baseball League*, 2000, *http://www.pioneerleague.com/Recordbook/39-63.htm*: accessed July 16, 2004.

Ogden Dodgers in 1968, recalled that such a setting in July and into August made it difficult during the first couple of innings for right-handed batters to bat against right-handed pitchers. It also led some players to name the field "Affliction Park." According to one historian, the setting was "a factor known to warp players for life. For a while the minor leagues were sprinkled with athletes who would answer gripes by saying, 'You think this is bad, you shoulda played in Ogden.'"[12]

OGDEN STANDARD-EXAMINER, JUNE 19, 1966

Pictured (left to right), ourfielder George Mercado, infielder, Richard Thompson, outfielder Romel Canada, members of the 1966 Ogden Dodgers.

In 1966 professional baseball returned to Ogden when a group of local businessmen revived the Ogden Baseball Club and Lynn Foley, president of the Weber State College boosters club, and Gene Sullivan, Salt Lake City sports publicist, asked the Ogden City Council for the use of Affleck Park, proposing the creation of a franchise that "would be underwritten on a non-profit basis by Ogden business and professional men and any income would go to the Weber State College for athletic scholarships." After the city's approval, the Pioneer League's acceptance, and the Los Angeles Dodgers' affiliation with Ogden, the Ogden Dodgers were born. The *Ogden Standard-Examiner* summarized the agreement, noting the "parent Los Angeles team will provide players, equipment, field manager, and coaches for the Ogden team. The Ogden Baseball Club will provide transportation, park, hotels, umpires and official scorers for the season." It was reported that the Ogden baseball club gave ten thousand dollars to pay for league costs, while local interests paid for the upkeep of Affleck Park. Because of the team's non-profit status, any money that exceeded the

[12] Lauren Zuckerman, "Ballparks in Utah," MSS A-6221, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. Gordon "Dutch" Belnap, interview by author, Ogden, Utah, September 11, 2002. Joe Critchlow, interview by author, Ogden, Utah, November 11, 2002. Steve Garvey, interview by author, Ogden, Utah, March 6, 2003. Michael Benson, *Ballparks of North America: A Comprehensive Historical Reference to Baseball Grounds, Yards, and Stadiums, 1845 to Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1989), 284.

Dutch Belnap grew up in Ogden, and coached baseball at Weber High School before he coached basketball at Utah State University for fourteen years. Later, he was Weber State University's (WSU) athletic director from 1994 to 1997. Since then he has been the color commentator for WSU's basketball broadcasts. Most recently, Belnap served as interim athletic director at WSU during the summer of 2004.

original ten thousand dollars would go toward athletic scholarships at Weber State College.[13]

One of the club's officers, Tom Hunter, told the *Standard* that "rookie baseball will make an outstanding contribution to the community. Not only will local fans see outstanding baseball, they could very well be viewing tomorrow's major league stars." He also envisioned "the day when the Rookie League will probably expand to an eight or 10 team league." In 2002, eight teams played in the Pioneer League, proving Hunter's understanding of the league's potential.[14]

In February 1966 the Los Angeles Dodgers paid Tommy Lasorda six thousand five hundred dollars a season to manage the Ogden club, returning to the Dodgers rookie league team after his initial season managing the Pocatello (Idaho) Dodgers the year before. In April the Dodgers assigned the Ogden team its first player, an infielder named Rhett Thompson. The team slowly grew to twenty-one players at the initial practice in June, including the number one draft pick of the Dodgers, pitcher Larry Hutton. Each player's salary was approximately five hundred dollars a month, and they lodged at the Ben Lomond Hotel with two players per room for sixty dollars a month, while Lasorda had a suite for his family. Ogden fans sometimes fed players in their homes and several local restaurants provided them with free meals. Often, though, Lasorda said the team ate at Chuck-A-Rama, "when the all-you-can-eat buffet was a buck and quarter [*sic*]."[15] These benevolent actions by members of the community allowed the team greater focus on baseball.

At the beginning of the 1966 season, Lasorda promised Ogden fans that "the club would do a lot of running, hit and run[,] and squeezing, since that is the type of ball played by the parent club in spacious Chavez Ravine Park." He expected hustle from his players, "I will tell the athletes that people pay money to come out and see them play and they owe it to these fans to give their best performances."[16] With that, Lasorda set the tone for the Ogden Dodgers.

The Dodgers played their first game against the defending league champions, the Treasure Valley (Caldwell, Idaho) Cubs, on June 25, 1966. There was great community support, as Utah Governor Calvin Rampton threw

[13] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, October 8, December 2, 1965. *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 20, 1966.

[14] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, December 12, 1965. The term "Rookie League," as used by Hunter, meant specifically the Pioneer League, the lowest rung on the minor league ladder. Generally, the order of the minor league baseball system is rookie, A, AA, and AAA.

The 1965 Pioneer League consisted of the Idaho Falls Angels, Magic Valley (Twin Falls) Cowboys, Pocatello Chiefs, and Treasure Valley (Caldwell) Cubs. In 1966, the Pocatello team was out and the Ogden Dodgers were in. By 2002, the Pioneer League consisted of the Billings Mustangs, Casper Rockies, Great Falls Dodgers, Idaho Falls Padres, Medicine Hat Blue Jays, Missoula Osprey, Ogden Raptors, and Provo Angels.

[15] Frank Dolson, *Beating the Bushes* (South Bend, IN: Icarus Press, 1982), 150. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 24, June 7 and 17, 1966. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 27, 2002. Belnap interview.

[16] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 7, 1966.

WEBER STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Baseball has for many years been a part of the Ogden scene and has had a few future Hall of Fame baseball players play in Ogden. The 1953 Ogden Reds baseball team being honored by fans. Pictured here sixth from right, Frank Robinson, later a member of the Baseball Hall of Fame.

out the first ball to Ogden Mayor Bart Wolthius in front of 4,124 fans, one of the largest crowds ever to watch an Ogden Dodgers game. Larry Hutton pitched for the Dodgers against Dean Burk of the Cubs, and the defending champs welcomed the Dodgers into the league by beating them 10-6.[17]

The Dodgers' first win came two nights later in the final game of the series. The Dodgers proved they belonged in the league by upending the champs, 7-2. This victory set the pace for the season as the Dodgers quickly gained a tie for the league lead, and dueled with the Cubs and the Idaho Falls Angels for the top spot for the rest of the season.[18]

As the team's front office worked to promote the Dodgers to the people of Ogden, they scheduled an appearance by a minor league icon, Max Patkin. Known as the "Clown Prince of Baseball," Patkin had started his baseball career as a pitcher in the 1940s, but an arm injury turned him to baseball comedy. After his initial experience mimicking Joe DiMaggio during a pickup game in the military, he turned it into a career that spanned from 1946 to the 1990s.[19]

[17] Ibid., June 23, 26, 1966.
[18] Ibid., June 28 and 30, 1966.
[19] John R. M. Wilson, "Max Patkin," in *American National Biography*, 2002 ed.

While it was not recorded which gags the Clown Prince performed when he appeared on July 25, 1966, in Ogden, there is little doubt that he gave those in attendance their money's worth. And, as was Lasorda's custom, he invited Max to stay in the family suite after the appearance, a gesture that gave Patkin some company during his long road swings.[20]

In Lasorda's autobiography, he remembered an experience the team had during the 1966 season when they were playing the Magic Valley Cowboys. Since the Cowboys were an affiliate of the San Francisco Giants, there was an inherent hatred between the two teams because Lasorda understood a Dodger rule, "Love the Dodgers, But Hate the Giants."[21] The aggressive and fiery Dodgers were in a particularly close and highly competitive game, and after a couple of bumps and scrapes, an all-out brawl ensued. Lasorda later recalled:

> This was one of the outstanding fights of my minor league career. It lasted at least a half hour…. It got so confusing that people didn't care who they were hitting. I remember Charlie Hough sitting in front of his locker after the game complaining, "My hand is killing me. I had some guy in a headlock and I was hitting him on the head with my right hand…." While a few lockers away, our shortstop was moaning, "I was trapped on the bottom of the pile and somebody had me in a headlock and just kept pounding me on top of the head…."[22]

Experiences like that give a flavor of the spunk and fire that fueled Lasorda's Dodgers.

In August, with the Dodgers three games behind the Cubs, Ogden went on a twelve-game winning streak. By the time it was over, the Dodgers held a two and a half game lead in the league. Just after the streak ended, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran a story about the Ogden team. Salt Lake City wanted a professional team, so it had an interest in how Utah's only professional ball club was performing. The Ogden Dodgers general manager, Gene Sullivan, said Ogden expected to make a profit of fifteen to twenty-thousand dollars that season, and that their average home attendance was "far better than any other club in the league." In the same article Lasorda elaborated on his role as manager, "We teach them the Dodger way, not only in playing tactics but in how they conduct themselves in everyday life. We teach aggressive baseball, how to be gentlemen when not in uniform, the meaning of winning."[23]

Lasorda also taught his players "shadow ball," an old crowd-pleasing routine from the Negro Leagues. During warm-ups, the infielders would take the field, but with their uniforms and hats on backward. Lasorda would act like he was hitting a ball to them, but there was no ball. He would supposedly hit a hard grounder, and the infielder would react by knocking the "ball" down and throwing it to first. The first baseman would make a wild

[20] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 24, 1966. Dolson, *Beating the Bushes*, 98.
[21] Tommy Lasorda and David Fisher, *The Artful Dodger* (New York: Arbor House, 1985), 137.
[22] Ibid., 137-38.
[23] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 19, 1966. *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 20, 1966.

stab to catch it. It only lasted five minutes, but it was another way that the Dodgers brought excitement and fun to the Ogden fans.[24]

As the Dodgers began their final series of the season, the pennant was still up for grabs. They had a four-game series against the Cubs in Ogden, and with Treasure Valley three games behind Ogden, anything could happen. The first game of the series was Defense Depot Ogden Night and Tommy Lasorda Appreciation Night. Nearly nineteen hundred fans braved the crisp, cool evening to watch the game and show their appreciation for Lasorda. The ceremonies came before the game, and the local newspaper reported that Lasorda and his family "were honored by fans, players, and Ogden merchants. Their gifts included music records, pipe and cigar rack[,] electric cigar lighter, gift certificates for clothing, savings bonds, golf balls and putter, golf shoes, a painting and a dog. Members of the Dodgers team gave the manager a pen and pencil set." Yet, the Cubs put a damper on the pre-game festivities by scoring four runs in the ninth inning to win 7-6, and preventing the Dodgers from clinching the pennant.[25]

OGDEN STANDARD-EXAMINER, AUGUST 17, 1966

Tommy Lasorda managed the Ogden Dodgers baseball team from 1966-1968.

The Dodgers bounced back in the next game, a pitchers' duel that ended 2-1. Lasorda sent lefty Dennis James, with his 5-1 record, against the Cubs' Frank Reberger. James was in control for all nine innings, striking out fifteen and holding the Cubs to three hits. So, with two games remaining, the Ogden Dodgers wrapped up the Pioneer League title in their first year in town.[26]

The final game of the 1966 season was a fun one, especially for the 405 fans in attendance. Lasorda took the night off and gave catcher Spike Pierce managerial responsibility. Pierce managed creatively by putting his teammates at different positions. He played shortstop, put pitcher Charlie Hough at first base, and tweaked other players and positions. Pierce's debut was successful as the Dodgers came from behind in the ninth inning to win 8-7.[27] It was a fitting end to an excellent inaugural season for the Ogden Dodgers.

Some of the accolades that accompanied the 1966 Ogden Dodgers included the league's best record at 39-27; the highest attendance in the

[24] Bob Richardson, interview by author, Ogden, Utah, October 30, 2002. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 11, 1966.

[25] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 3, 1966.

[26] Ibid., September 4, 1966.

[27] Ibid., September 6, 1966.

WEBER STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Affleck Park home of the Ogden Dodgers and other minor league baseball teams, was located at about 3400 Wall Avenue. Dimensions: left field, 345'; center field, 410'; and right field, 345'.

league at 33,822; the player with the most hits and highest batting average, Richard Thompson with 89 hits and a .322 average respectively; a tie for the pitcher with the most wins, Larry Hutton had nine; the pitcher with the lowest ERA, Dennis James at 1.75; and five of the fifteen members on the Pioneer League All-Star Team. Those All-Stars were Thompson at second base, Bob Harvey at third, John Wyatt and Bob Stinson in the outfield, and James on the pitching mound. Additionally, the Ogden club had a team batting average of .259 to lead the league.[28]

Yet another sign of their success was the number of players that made it to the major leagues. Six Ogden Dodgers in 1966 went to the big leagues: pitcher Charlie Hough played for nearly twenty-five years, shortstop Bill Russell for eighteen, outfielder Bob Stinson for twelve, pitcher Bob Johnson for seven, shortstop John Gamble for a few games, and catcher Jim Hibbs for a few games.[29] In 1966 there were almost five thousand minor league players, and fewer than seven hundred positions in the major leagues, so to have six members from a rookie level team reach the big leagues was impressive. With such talent, it is no surprise that the Ogden Dodgers won the 1966 pennant.

In anticipation of the 1967 season, Dutch Belnap replaced Gene Sullivan as general manager of the Ogden Dodgers. Belnap, a native of Ogden, coached baseball at Weber High School in North Ogden previous to his appointment, and became involved with the Dodgers only after a local sportswriter took him to a barbecue to meet Lasorda. The club then invited Belnap to be the general manager of the Dodgers with responsibilities for selling advertising and tickets, running the concession stand, hiring ticket takers, as well as the paper work for adding and releasing players. He accepted the role as a summer job while he continued to coach at Weber High during the school year.[30]

[28] Johnson and Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, 494. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, November 20, 1966.

[29] Rick Wolff, ed., *The Baseball Encyclopedia: The Complete and Definitive Record of Major League Baseball* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993), 1950, 1420, 1509, 1970, 920, and 1018, respectively.

[30] Belnap interview.

That same year the league replaced Magic Valley with Salt Lake City, which had last been in the league in 1957, fueling the existing Giant/Dodger rivalry because of proximity.[31] For the two years Lasorda managed Ogden while Salt Lake City was a member of the Pioneer League, it was always a grudge match when the Ogden Dodgers played the Salt Lake City Giants. While the two cities had a history of fielding rival baseball teams in the Union Association, Utah-Idaho League, and original Pioneer League, the added enmity that historically existed between the Dodger and Giant organizations provided additional fire to the rivalry.

The Dodgers prepared for the 1967 season by playing exhibition games against the Utah College All-Stars, a team comprised of players from the four area colleges, which gave the public a chance to see local talent. One of the games went into extra innings before the Dodgers pulled out the win. In an abnormal move, Lasorda pinch hit in the tenth inning, and "created the most excitement of the evening" for the crowd and the team when he looped a single to right.[32]

The 1967 Ogden Dodgers received an influx of new talent, including Los Angeles's number one draft pick, third baseman Donnie Ray Denbow. Their talent shined as they easily beat the hated Giants, 9-0 in the first game of the season on June 22, 1967. After sweeping the series, the Dodgers quickly took the league lead, and maintained it for most of the season. In July, Buzzy Bavasi, farm director for the Los Angeles Dodgers, came to Ogden to review the operation, telling the local paper, "I haven't seen too much of it, but what I've seen, I like…. I like the operation…the boys like it here. Which is important—very important."[33] The Los Angeles front office began taking notice of Lasorda's success.

By early August, the Dodgers' large lead began to slip as the Treasure Valley Cubs slowly chipped away while Dodger losses mounted. One of these losses came on the road against the Idaho Falls Angels, after Lasorda delayed the game for about twenty minutes arguing with the umpire. His fiery personality got the best of him, and the arbiter tossed Lasorda from the game. It was not long before six of his players joined him for heckling from the bench.[34] While the taunting from the bench turned out negatively for the Dodgers, at least it was entertaining for the home crowd.

With two weeks left in the season, the team took a day off with a "Texas style steak fry" in a city park. It was a time for teasing, eating, and playing touch football. It was a relaxing day that, according to a local sports writer, hopefully "would be just the tonic they needed to make it over the final hump and to their second flag in a row."[35]

The day off proved to be the necessary tonic as the Dodgers went back

[31] The Pioneer Baseball League, *http://pioneerleague.com/History/part1.htm*: accessed July 16, 2004.
[32] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 30, June 17, 1967. Also, Belnap interview.
[33] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 20, 23, July 23, 1967.
[34] Ibid., August 20, 1967.
[35] Ibid., August 22, 1967.

to the field and swept the Angels in the next series, including shutouts by Don Spain and Larry Burchart. This maintained their league lead at three games, and set the stage for their next series, four road games against the up-and-coming Treasure Valley Cubs. After the Cubs won the first two, Ogden had a paltry one game lead on the Cubs. The final two games in the series were a doubleheader, which the Dodgers swept by a combined score of 21-2. Burchart went the distance in the first game, scattering five hits for two runs. The Dodgers battered the Cub pitchers for fourteen hits and eleven runs. In the nightcap, the Dodgers pounded nine hits for ten runs to support Hutton's one-hit masterpiece of a shutout. He also received help in the final inning from Freddie "The Vulture" Katawich, who swooped in for the save.[36]

Those victories gave Ogden a three-game league lead going into the final four-game series of the season against the cellar-dwelling Salt Lake City Giants. The Dodgers clinched a tie for the pennant after beating them in the first game, but it would be a couple of nights before they won the title outright. After watching his team lose the second game in extra innings, Lasorda trusted in Burchart's arm to bring the Dodgers the pennant. The Dodger workhorse again went the distance, scattering twelve hits for four runs, to push his record to 9-1. He had help on the offensive side as the Dodgers came from behind to defeat the Giants 8-4, and once again take the Pioneer League pennant.[37]

For the final game, Lasorda maintained the precedent of the previous year and took the night off. He left catcher Randy Kohn in charge, who used seventeen players. Butch Marceno, normally the first baseman, played every position, including pitching the ninth inning. Although the Dodgers lost, the players enjoyed their time having fun in front of the estimated twenty-five hundred fans. In the local newspaper the game's official scorer called the game "a real nightmare. I can hardly wait to make out the league reports tomorrow."[38] And with that, the 1967 Pioneer League season ended.

The Ogden Dodgers of 1967 ended the season with a record of 41-25, atop the Pioneer League. First baseman Ron Estes led the Pioneer League in runs with fifty-nine, centerfielder Bill Rainer led the league in hits with eighty-four, and Burchart had the most wins with nine. Seven Dodgers made the All-Star Team, with Rainer, Burchart, and rightfielder Red Canada as unanimous selections, along with Estes, catcher Randy Kohn, third baseman Bob Hughes, and manager Tommy Lasorda as well.[39]

Five of the 1967 Ogden Dodgers made it to the big leagues. John Gamble, mentioned earlier, again played for Ogden in 1967. The other players included catcher Steve Yeager who played for fifteen years, and three pitchers: Larry Burchart and Bob Rauch each for one year, and Fred

[36] Ibid., August 23, 27, 28, 1967. Lasorda and Fisher, *The Artful Dodger*, 130.
[37] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 30, September 1, 1967.
[38] Ibid., September 2, 1967.
[39] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 17, 1967. Johnson and Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, 499.

Katawich.[40] Such developing talent led that year's team to their second straight Pioneer League pennant.

The Magic Valley Cowboys returned in 1968, creating a five-team league. Few Ogden Dodgers returned, but the new group was talent-laden with high school and college All-Americans, two-sport stars, and number one draft picks.[41] Stories about the 1968 team are easily accessible, and the team had a number of memorable experiences.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Ogden's Ben Lomond Hotel originally built in 1927 as Bigelow Hotel, changed to Ben Lomond in 1933. Ogden Dodgers roomed two to a room for sixty dollars a month and Tommy Lasorda housed his family in a suite.

Lasorda shared an experience about one talented player, eighteen-year old Bobby Valentine. The two were at dinner one night when Valentine stated his big concern was his lack of chest hair. Lasorda's solution—eat fat, something Valentine generally had left on his plate. A few weeks later, Valentine showed Lasorda the results. Tommy's analysis was: "I knew that day that Bobby Valentine was eventually going to play in the major leagues. Any man with the willpower to grow hair on his chest when he wanted to just couldn't miss."[42]

Bill Buckner, another talent on the team, remembered his first exposure to Lasorda. He was eighteen when he flew to Salt Lake City and went straight to Affleck Park in Ogden for an intra-squad game where Lasorda was pitching. Buckner's first at bat was a double off the wall. When he stopped at second, Lasorda threw down his glove and told him he would slit Buckner's throat if he did that again, which shocked the young Buckner.[43]

Despite the talent and confidence of the Ogden club, they opened the season with one win and two losses in a three-game road series against their arch-rivals, the Salt Lake City Giants. Ogden returned home to lick their wounds and face the returning Cowboys, whom they welcomed with a 17-2 clobbering in their home opener. Former Dodger great Duke Snider was in town to throw out the first pitch, and joined the 1,593 fans to watch the blowout. Ogden southpaw Bruce Ellingsen pitched a complete game, striking out thirteen along the way.[44]

[40] Wolff, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 1641, 1736, and 2183, respectively. Lasorda and Fisher, *The Artful Dodger*, 130.

[41] Lasorda and Fisher, *The Artful Dodger*, 118. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 20, 1968.

[42] Lasorda and Fisher, *The Artful Dodger*, 125-26.

[43] Bill Buckner, interview with author, Ogden, Utah, February 24, 2003.

[44] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, June 26, 1968.

That initial home win did not pull Ogden out of its early season slump; it was mid-July before the team returned to form and took the league lead, battling to retain it for the remainder of the season. In the game that gave them their first league lead, the Dodgers pounded the Idaho Falls Angels 12-0. College All-American Sandy Vance threw his second shutout of the season, scattering five hits and whiffing nine Angels. The Dodgers' bats were in full force, led by "Ogden's 'mini-Murderer's Row' of Bobby Valentine, Billy Buckner, Tom Paciorek and Steve Garvey."[45] Astute baseball fans will recognize these names, and their speed and bats provided an amazing offensive combination for the Ogden Dodgers.

Another prospect, who played for the 1968 Ogden Dodgers, was Gary Pullins. He had played at Brigham Young University earlier, and his college coach, Glen Tuckett, talked to Lasorda, who signed Pullins as a free agent in late June. Pullins arrived in Ogden and remained there for about a month.[46]

During the month of July, after a particularly hard loss in which Ogden should have won, a closed team meeting took place, which has become part of Lasorda lore. Lasorda was irate and told the players in an expletive-filled tirade what he thought of their efforts. As he went down the line of players, he came closer and closer to Pullins. In Lasorda's words:

> Gary Pullins was one of the finest young men I'd ever met. He didn't drink, he didn't smoke, he didn't curse. He played with great desire and enthusiasm, he hustled, and he was hitting. In fact, there was nothing about him I could criticize…. I had to say something to him, but what could I say? Everyone on the team knew what a good job he was doing; they were all waiting to see what I would find to criticize about his performance…. I had finally reached Pullins. I looked at him, I sighed, I shook my head disdainfully, "I was just like you when I started out in this game…. Now look what these [ ] people have done to me!"[47]

The jovial manager often made the long bus rides entertaining. Road games were two to four hours away and to break the monotony Lasorda kept the players' minds off the long nights of traveling on the bus. According to Steve Garvey, "Tom always made a bus ride [seem] half as long with his stories, his humor, his kidding around."[48] Garvey also remembered that he never heard Lasorda tell the same story twice on their lengthy bus rides.[49] On one returning trip in July, Lasorda called Buckner to the front of the bus. Lasorda saw his potential, and in an effort to reinforce it, he said:

> Buck, when we get back to Ogden I want you to write a letter to Wes Parker [the current Dodger first baseman] and tell him that you are playing for Ogden and you understand he is a nice guy. You are just writing to let him know that it would be a good idea to start looking for another job because in three years you, Bill Buckner, will take his.[50]

[45] Ibid., July 17, 1968.

[46] Gary Pullins, e-mail to author, November 15, 2002.

[47] Lasorda and Fisher, *The Artful Dodger*, 136. In the book the expletives are represented by empty text. See also, Belnap interview and Gary Pullins, interview with author, Ogden, Utah, October 26, 2002.

[48] Dolson, *Beating the Bushes*, 152.

[49] Garvey interview.

[50] Pullins e-mail.

Lasorda's foresight and evaluation of the young player was accurate. A few years later, Buckner became Los Angeles's first baseman.

Poker games were another bus experience. Dutch Belnap remembered that on the road the players received three dollars a day in meal money. He said, "We'd go to Twin Falls…and by the time they got out to 12th Street [in Ogden], they'd be broke because they'd get in a poker game on the bus."[51] They knew how to have fun on their trips, exhibiting a camaraderie that shined on the field.

During road trips, Ogden radio station KLO would broadcast away games just as they did for home games, but broadcasters did not travel with the team. It was the general practice for KLO and some other radio stations that broadcast Pioneer League games to use a Teletype machine to provide the very basics of the game—the who and the results of the inning—by wire. This left long delays during the broadcast of games. This method required the broadcasters to "call" road games creatively while broadcasting from the radio station in Ogden. Len Allen, the voice of KLO as well as their play-by-play person in 1966 and 1967, recalled an experience he had during one of the delays that occurred during big innings. Armed with a pack of cigarettes and a rubber band for the crack of the bat and an LP of crowd noises, Allen commenced his "calling" the game. During one particular game, when a delay arose, "Allen calmly invented an elaborate incident wherein [Lasorda] hotly disputed a call by the first-base umpire, eventually kicking dirt at him." This would have been a fine ad lib, except Lasorda's wife heard the game on the radio and reprimanded Tommy when he arrived home for his bad behavior. Needless to say, Lasorda approached Allen with alternative ideas for the next away broadcast. Joe Critchlow, another broadcaster at KLO who did play-by-play from 1968 to 1973, added that they would ad lib with "thunderstorms or arguments with umpires…and give your sponsors a whole bunch of commercials."[52]

The color that the Dodger players and Lasorda brought to the games failed to increase their league lead as they remained tied with the Idaho Falls Angels with one game remaining on the Dodgers' 1968 schedule.[53] The Angels had completed their season, but Ogden would play the Magic Valley Cowboys at Affleck Park for the final game. The Dodgers started Ellingsen, who maintained control through the seventh inning, despite a seesaw battle. Over twenty-five hundred fans watched as Ogden held a five run lead until the Cowboys scored three in the sixth. The Dodgers responded with four runs in their half of the inning to make it 9-3, but Magic Valley refused to fold, scoring six runs in the top of the eighth to take a 10-9 lead. The Dodgers were not to be outdone; they loaded the

[51] Belnap interview.

[52] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, January 4, 2003. Len Allen, interview by author, Ogden, Utah, November 15, 2002. Critchlow interview.

[53] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 30, 1968.

bases in the bottom of the eighth with Valentine, Buckner, and Garvey, before the next batter bounced back to the pitcher. Fortunately for Ogden, Magic Valley misplayed the ground ball, and Valentine and Buckner scored to retake the lead. The Dodgers then added six insurance runs in the inning, making the score 17-10. It became final after Vance set the Cowboys down in the ninth for his fourteenth victory, and the team's thirty-ninth, a half game ahead of the Angels.[54] It was a "three-peat" for the Ogden Dodgers.

The evidence of the success of the 1968 Ogden Dodgers came in many forms, including the league's best record, thirty-nine wins against twenty-five losses. They had seven members of the Pioneer League All-Star Team; third baseman Steve Garvey and centerfielder Bobby Valentine as unanimous selections, as well as first baseman Bill Buckner, catcher Pat Burke, pitchers Sandy Vance and Bruce Ellingsen, and manager Tommy Lasorda. Buckner led the league with eighty-eight hits and in batting with an average of .344. Winning that batting title was one of Buckner's most fulfilling memories of his time in Ogden. Garvey hit the most home runs with twenty and the most RBI with fifty-nine. His home run total was a record for the rookie level Pioneer League. Garvey later recalled that his offensive productivity that year was his biggest memory of Ogden. Valentine had the most runs with sixty-two, Vance dominated with fourteen wins and 150 strikeouts, and Ellingsen had the lowest ERA at 1.43.[55]

The most telling sign of the Dodgers' success of 1968 came in the seven players who made it to the majors. Bob Rauch, mentioned earlier, returned to play in Ogden in 1968. Bill Buckner played for twenty-two years, Steve Garvey played nineteen, right fielder Tom Paciorek played eighteen, Bobby Valentine played ten, and Sandy Vance played two. And, yes, Tommy Lasorda made it to the big leagues as the Los Angeles Dodgers' manager for twenty years.[56] With players of this caliber in Ogden during the summer of 1968, there is no wonder why the Pioneer League pennant went to the Ogden Dodgers.

After the 1968 season, Dutch Belnap declined to return and Tommy Lasorda was assigned to manage the Dodgers' AAA affiliate in Spokane.[57] Most of the players from the 1968 season did not return, some continued to climb the baseball ladder, others left the game altogether. The Dodgers remained in Ogden until 1973, but the "Era of Lasorda" was over.

The time Lasorda spent in Ogden was full of energy and excitement. He taught his players the basics of baseball, stimulating their interest for learning.[58] The players responded by applying principles from the baseball

[54] Ibid., August 31, 1968.

[55] Johnson and Wolff, *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, 503. Associated Press, *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 19, 1968. Buckner interview. *The Sporting News*, August 17, 1968. Garvey interview.

[56] Wolff, *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 715, 927, 1322, 1566, and 2310, respectively. Edward J. Rielly, *Baseball: An Encyclopedia of Popular Culture* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2000), 174.

[57] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, January 27, 1969.

[58] Garvey interview.

gospel of Lasorda, culminating in three consecutive pennants. The city supported them by spinning the well-used turnstiles of Affleck Park. The "Era of Lasorda" truly was an entertaining time for the baseball players who passed through Ogden and the fans who watched them.

To complete the story of these Ogden Dodgers, their colorful manager is a good place to begin. Lasorda managed in the minor leagues for eight seasons, winning five pennants, before managing the Los Angeles Dodgers from 1976 to 1996, where his teams won four National League pennants and two World Series Championships. In 1997, the Committee on Baseball Veterans elected him to the National Baseball Hall of Fame. He became a Dodgers executive following his days in the dugout and "in 1999 completed his 50th year in the organization. He also managed the United States to its first-ever gold medal in baseball at the 2000 Sydney Olympics."[59] Indeed, he has an impressive résumé for a man who first saw managerial success with a rookie level team in Ogden, Utah.

Bill Buckner, Dutch Belnap, general manager, Steve Garvey, Bobby Valentine (left to right,) 1968.

Many of the Ogden players followed Lasorda into coaching. Gary Pullins returned as an assistant coach for the Ogden Dodgers in the early 1970s before coaching at Brigham Young University for twenty-three years, where he is now assistant athletic director.[60] Bobby Valentine and Charlie Hough coached together at the major league level when Valentine managed the New York Mets and Hough was his pitching coach. Bill Russell has also managed in the big leagues, where he replaced Lasorda in Los Angeles. Others have coached at various levels, including their children's Little League teams.[61]

During the last decades of the twentieth century, professional baseball has come and gone in Ogden. The Dodgers left after 1973, but the Ogden Spikers played one more season in the Pioneer League before professional baseball left town. It was the late 1970s when the Oakland A's gave Ogden

[59] Rielly, *Baseball*, 174. National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, "Tommy Lasorda," 2002 *http://www.baseballhalloffame.org/hofers_and_honorees/hofer_bios/Lasorda_Tommy.htm*: accessed July 16, 2004.

[60] Brigham Young University Athletics, "Gary Pullins, Assistant AD/Varsity Club Director," January 6, 2004 *http://www.byucougars.com/athletic_department/directory/pullins_g.html*: accessed July 16, 2004.

[61] Belnap interview.

its only AAA affiliate, playing in the Pacific Coast League for two seasons. The A's played in a renovated Affleck Park, but financial losses forced the A's to leave Ogden "with the best 'little league' ballpark in the West." The departure of the A's soured the city to the taste of baseball, and Affleck remained vacant until 1985 when Ogden City's Economic Development Department agreed to "sell the land to Price Savers and Anderson Lumber Company."[62] It was not long before the land was converted from a ballpark to a commercial center.

It was thirteen years before professional baseball returned to Ogden in 1994. Dave Baggot, a former professional player for the rival Salt Lake City Trappers baseball team, led the charge as president and co-owner. He took the lead in re-establishing a baseball team in Ogden, the Raptors, the first Ogden team in the Pioneer League since the Dodgers left the league twenty years earlier. The Raptors first played at Serge Simmons Field on the west side of Ogden until Lindquist Field was finished on the corner of 23rd and Lincoln Avenue in 1997. Lindquist Field was financed "with Ogden City appropriating $2 million, the State Legislature $1 million, and co-owners, John and Suzanne Lindquist donating $1 million." Today, the stadium is considered "one of the top rookie league facilities in the country."[63]

The Raptors, when they joined the Pioneer League, were an independent team without a working relationship with a major league team. In 1996 Ogden established an affiliation with the Milwaukee Brewers, which lasted for seven seasons. Just as Ogden was looking for a new affiliation with a major league team, the Los Angeles Dodgers were also seeking an affiliate at the rookie level. The Dodgers had been in Great Falls, Montana, but found their facilities lacking despite the fact that the team had won the Pioneer League pennant in 2002. The fit between Ogden and Los Angeles was natural, as the Dodger's player-development director Bill Bavasi said, "[Coming to Ogden] was an easy decision…I would probably say we were the [pursuing] party…. Our intention was to improve ourselves geographically and facility-wise….We think we did both."[64]

The Dodgers have come full circle in Ogden. They began in Ogden at a time when many future stars were making Dodger fans of many in the area. As the Dodger organization has returned to a town where it had much success, Ogden fans can now rightfully wear their Dodger paraphernalia to Lindquist Field in hopes of seeing future big league baseball stars.

[62] F. Ross Peterson and Robert E. Parson, *Ogden City: Its Governmental Legacy: A Sesquicentennial History* (Ogden, UT: Chapelle Ltd., 2001), 229. Also, *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 6, 1985.

[63] Robert Parson, "Short History of Baseball in Ogden City, Utah" *Journal of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 79 (2002): 146. *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 27, 2002.

[64] *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, September 27, 2002.

A Widow's Tale: The 1884-1896 Diary of Helen Mar Kimball Whitney

Transcribed and Edited by Charles M. Hatch and Todd M. Compton (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003. xiv + 887 pp. $44.95.)

A WIDOW'S TALE IS THE SIXTH VOLUME in the Utah State University Press Life Writings of Frontier Women Series. At 888 pages, twice the size of each of the previous volumes, it was a prodigious undertaking by both the editors and the press to bring this diary to publication in such a remarkable manner. For their contribution to Western history, the editors and press were recognized by the Mormon History Association in May 2004 with the Christensen Best Documentary Book Award. The award is well deserved.

Helen Mar Kimball Whitney was one of a few nineteenth-century women whose entire life was influenced by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Her father Heber C. Kimball and mother Vilate Murray Kimball were converted in 1832 when Helen was four years old. She was part of every early church history community and as a teenager became a plural wife of the prophet Joseph Smith, placing her throughout her life among a unique group of women. She married Horace Kimball Whitney in 1846 in Nauvoo and came by wagon to Utah. After 1856 she lived as a polygamous wife, a circumstance that affected her life even after her husband's death. Helen Mar has been known to readers of Western history and literature because of her published writings, including reminiscences, *Women's Exponent* editorials, and two pamphlets explaining polygamy. However, the diary provides a different perspective. It is a daily, first-person description of her struggles as a widow, and also provides a personal but broad view of life in the center of Mormondom and in Utah's more urbane capital city as Utah approached statehood.

Thirteen notebooks make up Helen Mar's diary. Eleven were donated to Utah State University Merrill Library in 1992; two were held in the LDS Church Archives. Charles (Chick) Hatch began transcribing the journals for Utah State University Press upon the recommendation of the late A.J. Simmonds, curator of Special Collections, who first recognized their significance. Todd Compton entered the project after transcribing the two notebooks from the LDS Church Archives and doing additional research on Helen Mar for other publications. They fine-tuned each other's transcriptions. Compton provided the introduction, notes, and register of names; Hatch read them through and made editorial suggestions.

Compton's introduction is comprehensive, providing a biography of Helen Mar's life up to her widowhood, and defining significant themes from the diaries, as seen by the editors. These include her economic circumstances; plural widowhood; health, depression and "deathly spells," church and Utah history as seen through her eyes, gender or male-female relationships, and her success as an author. The endnotes are exhaustive, adding details from Salt Lake City's newspapers, biographical descriptions, information from the diary and writings of her son

Orson F. Whitney, who was also her bishop and a historian, and many other sources. The Register of Names in the Diary lists biographical and summary details, plus the date or dates each person mentioned. It is more helpful than the normal index to a book. Last but not least, there are twenty pages of bibliographic sources on nineteenth century Salt Lake City, Utah, and America, a resource that has value on its own.

At times, while reading Helen Mar's diary entries, I felt like an intruder into her private life. She wrote openly and intimately, and I'm sure never imagined that hundreds or thousands would one day become acquainted with her, her family, her society through her daily entries. But how I wish I had had her details when I was writing about my Burton family who lived during the same time period. She mentions them often. Through her candid comments, many others will have the benefit of her descriptions of daily life, keeping up a home, spring cleaning, medicine and medical treatments, visiting, mourning, and even taking the trolley across town. She expressed deep opinions about politics and other events transforming the community and the church in the critical 1890s. She was absorbed with her health or lack thereof, although the ailments as described in nineteenth-century terms left me longing for a modern diagnosis. She consulted many medical practitioners and tried various remedies, often spending her last available cash for powders or tonics that seemed to help. Some readers will find her details describing health problems, women's work and social life tedious, while others will wish for even more details that clarify that which she found no reason to explain.

I recommend these diaries to anyone writing biography, especially Mormon or women's biography of the late nineteenth-century, and also to those trying to understand the changes in society, the LDS church, and government at the time. I found it easier to read if I overlooked the many family members who had either nicknames or a first name used over and over. This diary will be consulted many times by those looking for details, events, comments, and names that fit the reader's research or interests. I commend Utah State University Press for supporting such an involved project and all those who saw it through to publication. It is a significant record of life in late nineteenth-century Utah as well as a remarkable record of the life of a very observant woman.

JANET BURTON SEEGMILLER
Southern Utah University

Founding Fort Utah: Provo's Native Inhabitants, Early Explorers, and First Year of Settlement By D. Robert Carter (Provo: Provo City Corporation, 2003. xiv + 263 pp. $17.00.)

D. ROBERT CARTER FIRST STARTED researching *Founding Fort Utah:*

Provo's Native Inhabitants, Early Explorers, and First Year of Settlement while working on Provo's 1999 Sesquicentennial, where he was tasked with determining Fort Utah's original location. After doing so, Carter continued his research on early Provo exploration and settlement, intrigued by the demographics and colonization patterns of early Mormon settlers in Utah and their interactions with native Utes. Carter's detailed study draws almost exclusively from Anglo-American and LDS primary sources, including a plethora of diaries and journals, correspondence, autobiographical sketches, family histories, meeting minutes, and newspaper articles. *Founding Fort Utah* is liberally illustrated with more than seventy maps, sketches, photographs, and paintings that add to this work.

In his first chapter, Carter succinctly summarizes early Utah Valley cultures and peoples, later explorers including Franciscan priests Francisco Atanasio Dominquez, Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, and John C. Fremont, and fur trappers such as Etienne Provost and Jim Bridger, noting their contributions to the area's history. His remaining chapters outline early Provo history; Carter describes the first Latter-day Saints to enter Utah Valley, early exploration and fishing expeditions, confrontations with the local Timpanogots Utes, the founding of the fort in April 1849, and everyday life during the fort's first year. Carter's study culminates in the February 1850 two-day Battle of Provo River between the Provo settlers, reinforced by militia volunteers from the Salt Lake Valley, and Old Elk's Utes.

Carter, in his discussion of Fort Utah's colonization, differentiates it from other early Mormon settlements as a testing ground of Brigham Young's early Native American policy. Contrary to the early Utah settlement pattern, Brigham Young did not "call" families to settle in Provo. Instead, Salt Lake City resident Alexander Williams pressured Young into prematurely authorizing a settlement in Utah Valley. Williams led a group of approximately thirty families who then chose their own leaders and site of settlement, which perhaps was the beginning of Provo's twenty-five year designation as "a disobedient, uncooperative, individualistic, malcontent, recalcitrant, rowdy colony," hardly its current reputation (73).

Much of Carter's book focuses on the build up to the Battle of Provo River, the skirmish, and its aftermath. Carter explores Mormon-Indian relations before Brigham Young's often quoted, "it is better to feed the Indians than to fight them" policy. He provides evidence that Young and U.S. Army Captain Howard Stansbury agreed to "exterminate" or "use up" any Ute who did not want peace, or in other words, did not want to become a farmer. Carter hints at Young's anxiety that too many Provo settlers adopted Ute habits instead of converting them to the LDS faith. Further analysis on the effect of the Battle of Provo River on Young's later, more conciliatory Indian policy would have been helpful.

Carter's extensive research would have benefited from a connection with broader historic themes in Utah, Mormon, and Western history. For example, Carter could have compared his findings on Young's reaction to Fort Utah's independence and the leader's efforts to rein in the colony after the Battle of Bear River with scholarship on settlement patterns or LDS church authority in territo-

rial Utah. At times, Carter speculates about the thoughts and motives of his characters, and his insights are subsumed by excessive detail. Regardless, because of Carter's exhaustive research, colorful characters, and informal tone, this book will be of interest to scholars, local historians, and Utah residents interested in the early history of Utah Valley, Provo, and Mormon-Indian relations.

KATIE CLARK BLAKESLEY
Salt Lake City, Utah

Pedro Pino: Governor of Zuni Pueblo, 1830-1878 By E. Richard Hart (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003. xi + 188 pp. Cloth, $ 36.95; paper, $17.95.)

RICHARD HART ORIGINALLY COMPLETED this manuscript twenty-five years ago, and while it has been used by researchers and Zuni high school students since that time, it remained unpublished until recently. This book is both a history of Zuni efforts to maintain their land base in this volatile period and a biography of Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu. Known to non-Zunis as Pedro Pino, Lai-iu-ah-tsai-lu served as governor of Zuni pueblo for nearly half a century. Given the sources available, which include Pino's and Frank Hamilton Cushing's papers, Hart is able to offer the reader a clear understanding of Pino's diplomatic life, but his personal life remains relatively obscure.

Pedro Pino led a remarkable, if often tragic, life. Pino's early misfortunes helped him become a valuable asset to his community. Captured and enslaved by Navajo enemies at the age of thirteen or fourteen, Pino learned the Navajo language and acquired a better understanding of a people that often threatened Zuni land and lives. Ransomed to his namesake, Pedro Pino, a Spaniard living in Santa Fe, the young man subsequently learned to speak fluent Spanish and formed personal ties with influential New Mexican leaders. Such knowledge of outsiders made Pino an ideal choice for the Zuni caciques to appoint as governor. In that role, he had the responsibility of leading diplomatic efforts for his people. Although Hart stresses Pino's central role in guiding Zuni relations with their Navajo, Spanish, Mexican, and American neighbors, the author is careful not to overemphasize Pino's political power or influence within his own community.

Pino's success as governor is attributed to his broad knowledge of those with whom he dealt and the basic honesty and good faith he demonstrated in dealing with them. Hart contends that Pino's influence, and his propensity for holding on to essential documents, including land grants, may have helped the Zunis gain the best advantage they could in an otherwise failing effort to hold on to their lands. During his tenure, the pueblo lost over 90 percent of their territory, leading in 1877 to their confinement on a small reservation in New Mexico. Throughout his career, Pino attempted to maintain close ties with the United States, encouraging the Zuni to provide food and military assistance to American troops fighting

against the Navajos. Hart, therefore, sees it as particularly tragic that the Navajos often fared better than did the Zunis in treaty dealings with the United States, even gaining access to lands that had belonged to the Zunis.

One of the more interesting aspects of Hart's book is his discussion of the relationship between Pino and ethnologists Frank Cushing and John C. Bourke. Just as the American government took advantage of Zuni hospitality, ethnologist Frank Cushing is shown to have abused his warm reception by Pino and other Zunis to reveal secret knowledge of Zuni traditions to the academic world. Pino first gave Cushing and Bourke important information about Zuni life, but grew suspicious of Cushing's intentions over time. Ironically, of course, much of the information available on Pino comes from his personal collection of papers which were acquired by Cushing and placed in a Los Angeles archive.

This is a highly accessible and well-researched book that skillfully retells the story of Pino's distinguished political life. Pino maintained his faith in the wisdom of cordial relations with United States military men, government officials, and academics. Unfortunately, his efforts were insufficient, and, as Hart shows, he was frequently betrayed by those he most trusted.

WADE DAVIES
University of Montana

Calaveras Gold: The Impact of Mining on a Mother Lode County By Ronald H. Limbaugh and Willard P. Fuller, Jr. (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003, xi + 404 pp. Cloth. $39.95.)

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY DISCOVERY of gold in California and the ensuing gold rush has been an engaging topic of study by many historians for over one hundred fifty years. Its effects were far reaching, shaping the histories of many men and their communities throughout the country, but especially in the west. The authors of this volume have focused their study to one isolated area on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountains: California's Calaveras County. Ronald Limbaugh is a retired Professor of History at the University of the Pacific, while Willard Fuller is a retired mining geologist and engineer. Fuller also is a fifty year resident of Calaveras County and long-time leader of the Calaveras County Historical Society, probably explaining the focus of this book.

Calaveras County lies about forty-five miles southeast of Sacramento and east of Stockton. Its broad western border basks in summertime heat and aridity at near sea level in the Central Valley, while its narrow eastern border, only a little over fifty miles away, is 7,200 feet high where winter snows approach fifty feet of depth in an average season. Between these two extremes the county's contorted, deeply eroded and heavily wooded slopes lie astride the Mother Lode gold belt.

When the gold fever struck, Calaveras County was in the thick of it. Curiously, as the authors of this book lament, little literature exists to document the county's gold mining connection. In fact, Calaveras County is better known as the location of Mark Twain's jumping-frog tale. Therefore Limbaugh and Fuller undertook to inform their readers about the region's gold mining heritage and its economic ramifications as they changed over time.

The first few years after the discovery of gold the authors call the Placer Era, where most mining was at or near the surface. Nuggets were sought, gold dust sometimes discarded. Some prospectors instructed Indians what to look for and sent them out on the search for the yellow metal. The authors cite a story of some unscrupulous prospectors using overweight lead slugs to weigh what the Indians brought back, seeing no harm when naive Natives were their customers. It was estimated that in 1850, when lode mining made its appearance, as many as three thousand American Indians were employed in gold mining. With the newer mining methods gold deposits were sought in quartz veins, taking the miners underground in hard rock mines. Extracting the metal required more sophisticated methods than the simple placer techniques, requiring more equipment and better methods. Also more investment but less unskilled labor, so that by 1860 the number of Indian miners had dropped to insignificance.

The newer mining and extraction methods spawned many ancillary industries, such as foundries and machine shops to build machinery, teamsters to haul ore and supplies, and merchants to stock supplies and support the needs of the miners and their families. But they also changed the face of mining from being labor intensive to being labor efficient. In 1852 the county population was over twenty thousand, but by 1870 it had dropped to less than ten thousand and continued to fall except during brief periods of increased mining activity. Yet the mines continued to operate well into the twentieth century and were able to operate during the years of the Great Depression, providing a better living standard, however meager it may have been, for the miners than seen by others residing closer to the California cities. But when the Second World War began, gold mining was declared a nonessential industry. The mines were closed and most plants were disassembled. Following the war there were attempts to open some of the mines, but the heyday of gold mining was in the past.

The authors examine many facets of more than a century of Calaveras mining, often in microscopic and excruciating detail. The same events might be discussed at different times, but as seen from new perspectives, leaving the reader with a curious sense of *deja vu* – didn't I read this somewhere before? The book could benefit from better and more detailed maps so the reader can find locations being discussed and see where they are relative to other locations mentioned. There are two small maps: one being a Mother Lode Geology map extending far to the north and south of Calaveras County, the other being a county map with some, but not all the locations mentioned. It is probably adequate for those familiar with the county, but to others it leaves much to be desired.

To the authors' credit, the book has an excellent index, an extensive bibliography, a glossary of selected mining terms, and copious endnotes.

CHARLES L. KELLER
Salt Lake City, Utah

Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park By Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xv + 125 pp. $22.00.)

IN THE BEGINNING, this book appears to be a fairly simple and straightforward summary of the debunking of a famous story about the creation of Yellowstone National Park. The authors are meticulous in their research, building on the work of earlier historians, most notably Aubrey Haines, the first official historian for Yellowstone National Park. But the real point of this slim volume is that historical events and processes are seldom simple, and that "the complexity of any natural or cultural event is a bottomless reservoir of ever finer elements and more subtle details" (94). The authors point out that "historians can champion truth, but [they] cannot abolish myth—nor should [they] want to" (89).

The historical event—or myth—in question is the supposed conversation that occurred around the campfire of the Washburn-Langford-Doane expedition at the junction of the Gibbon and Firehole rivers (now called Madison Junction) on September 19, 1870. The story put forth by some of the expedition's members, most notably Nathaniel P. Langford, was that the idea of establishing Yellowstone as a national park was introduced by expedition member Cornelius Hedges that night. For decades, most people believed that this conversation was the genesis of the national park movement that officially began when Yellowstone National Park was created by Congress in 1872. The "campfire story," as it came to be known, continued to be told by rangers and writers at Yellowstone for many years. However, in the mid-1900s, historians, especially Aubrey Haines, began to cast doubt on the authenticity of the campfire story, using a number of documentary sources as evidence. Haines' research led him to conclude that the campfire story was all or mostly a fabrication by Nathaniel Langford that served his own interests and those of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which paid Langford for lectures extolling the wonders of Yellowstone in order to expedite the sale of railroad bonds by popularizing the region through which the line was to be built.

Schullery and Whittlesey summarize the work of these historians and add their own research to the stack of evidence against the campfire story as Yellowstone's creation story. On the basis of this work alone, this book would be an excellent text for anyone interested in the process of researching and writing history, of comparing and evaluating sources, and using one's own experience to help ferret out the truth.

However, the authors do not stop there. They go on to ask why the campfire story has such power. It had so much importance to some people that his debunking of it led to the elimination of Aubrey Haines' position as historian. The authors ruminate on questions of how a mixture of motives, from sheer commercialism and greed to pure altruism and love of place combined both to create Yellowstone National Park and to perpetuate the campfire story of its inception. They also discuss concepts of myth, legend, and history as applied to the campfire story and Yellowstone National Park. They use the terms properly, rather than falling into the common practice of using the words "myth" and "folklore" to mean "falsehood." They choose to use the word "myth" to describe the campfire story, while I would choose the word "legend." Such fine shadings of meaning, however, will only have relevance for those of us who study such things. Their overall conclusions about the power of some stories to inspire, motivate and justify human actions are sound and respectful of the stories themselves, regardless of their factual content. They also issue a call for more folklorists and cultural anthropologists to study the folklore generated by the national parks. The book has an introspective, self-critical quality that will add to its value for students learning how to write history. This little gem of a book will appeal to readers with interests in national parks, Yellowstone, western history, environmental history, environmental policy, cultural policy, and folklore. The book has illustrations, an appendix of historic sources, excellent notes, and an adequate index.

ELAINE THATCHER
Utah State University

Jewish Life in the American West: Perspectives on Migration, Settlement, and Community Edited by Alva F. Kahn (Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage in Association with Heyday Books, 2002. 144 pp. Paper, $22.50.)

WHEN THE FAILED GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848 shook the confidence of German Jews, and the brutal pogroms of 1881-1884, 1903, and 1905, incited by anti-Semitic Russian mob violence, raged throughout hundreds of Jewish communities, taking life and limb, many Jews saw the United States as their only answer to save themselves. Annually, during the latter half of 1850-1920s, the years explored in Ava Kahn's insightful book, *Jewish Life in the American West*, 60,488 immigrants fled from the terror of prejudice and tyranny to the promise of freedom in the *Golden Medina*.

If America were to be the land of new beginnings for the Jewish immigrant, a growing number, Kahn and her colleagues assert, viewed the western United States, not the urban cities of the East, as their "promised land." Some emigrants made brief stops on the East Coast before heading West. A number of other Jewish

emigrants arrived through the port city of San Francisco or by way of Galveston, Texas. Kahn cites from an early Jewish population too small to tally, San Francisco's numbers in 1860 grew to five thousand; by the mid-1870s to sixteen thousand; and in the 1880s overtook Chicago and Philadelphia by becoming the second-largest Jewish community in the United States.

A compilation of four thought-provoking essays by historians covering roughly eighty years critical to the development of the West, Kahn's book explores the lesser-known Jewish history of the American frontier, strives to break through the stereotypic image of the immigrant, and submits for the western historian new perspectives on life and customs. Offered from a unique vantage, Kahn establishes the western American Jewish experience as a regional entity with intrinsic characteristics rather than a replication or cousin to the more familiar image of the New York Jew. In the first essay, "American West, New York Jewish," Hasia R. Diner argues that most twentieth-century American Jewish historians posit true American Jewish identity as rooted in New York's Lower East Side, a stance which renders them unable to recognize the western Jewish experience.

Kahn's essay on four Jewish pioneer women differentiates the diverse roles, challenges and independent choices made by western women from those living in the traditional, all-inclusive Jewish milieu of eastern cities. Profiling 1880 Jewish population and male employment in selected western towns, contributor William Toll expertly guides us from Old World migration onto the rough, frontier merchant trail that eventually brought community stature and political leadership to western Jewish entrepreneurs and businessmen. In the closing essay, contributor Ellen Eisenberg examines life after the rise and demise of the Jewish agricultural movement in the West, heightening the determination and agrarian vision of a dedicated farmer who adapted and succeeded in urban leadership and commerce after having to leave the farm.

When Kahn's book combines scholarship with humanity, its anecdotal accounts and patterns of movement add important substance to western American history. Its striking photographs emanate true grit to the stunning reality of early western Jewish presence and influence. Unfortunately, the book is too slight for its title, and suffers from a disparity of information and omission. In its brevity, potentially rich subjects are minimized, and coverage of states unbalanced. For example, Utah's rich and accessible Jewish heritage was not tapped; the extent of Utah's Jewish businesses, which influenced the economy of many other western states, remained unexplored; and the complex outcome of the agricultural colony of Clarion was reduced to a mere ten lines. In Idaho, approximately one hundred Jews lived in Boise in 1892, and yet no history of that state appears in the book. Nor is mentioned Idaho's Moses Alexander, who, in 1914, became the first Jewish governor in the United States.

It is possible the reach of Kahn's book was constrained by time, page, and financial limitations: the book was to appear in conjunction with the opening of a lively exhibit of the same name held at the Autry Museum of Western Heritage in

Los Angeles. The absence of sufficient representation from each western state, however, detracts from the book's potential. Nevertheless, this slim volume offers nuggets of compelling information and makes a fine contribution to Jewish western literature.

EILEEN HALLET STONE
Salt Lake City, Utah

Desert Patriarchy: Mormon and Mennonite Communities in the Chihuahua Valley

By Janet Bennion (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2004. xv + 205 pp. Cloth. $45.00)

DESERET PATRIARCHY IS A STUDY of three Anglo Mexican groups in the Chihuahua Valley, Mexico. Janet Bennion and three Utah Valley State College students lived with members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), the LeBaron polygamous group, and the Mennonites during one summer. Based on their experiences, Bennion concludes that women networking helps offset the impact of a strong patriarchy.

For a historian to review an anthropologist requires some adjustment. Although Janet Bennion and I interview about Mormon polygamy, our styles differ. I use people's names and their experiences; Bennion combines people and uses fictional names. My interviews are formal tape recorded memories; Bennion relies heavily on participant observation. I report stories. Like a good social scientist, Bennion tests a theory.

Recognizing these biases, I still consider *Desert Patriarchy* an interesting but flawed study. Bennion's book includes anthropological theory, personal essay, nature writing, and travel log and all of that in less than two hundred pages. The preface introduces the reader to Bennion's personal experiences in Utah's desert. The chapters then explain the theory, the land, the history, the research methods, and the people. The final chapter draws conclusions.

Bennion writes well; her description of the Chihuahua Valley reads like Terry Tempest Williams' nature writing. Her observations are keen; her proses are readable. I enjoyed reading the words. But still the book bothered me. The beginning and concluding theory chapters are bookends and do not fit well. Bennion only briefly describes the Mennonites, a culture new to her. She relies heavily on her previous research to discuss the LeBarons and almost seems to brag that she was courted as a fourth wife.

My greatest concerns though are about the culture I know best. Her descriptions of the Mormon church are oversimplified and do not show LDS women's complex personalities. I know there are conflicts between the Anglo Mexican and the Mexican Mormons in Colonia Juarez and Colonia Dublan. But the people she

creates to tell the Mormon stories seem very atypical and adjusted to fit her theory. In addition, Bennion clearly dislikes "the Mormon patriarchy" and her views block any objectivity.

Although Bennion tells me over and over that there is a connection between the desert, patriarchy, and women, I am not convinced. She needed more solid evidence to make such bold claims. Going to Mexico was a valuable experience for Bennion and her students to look at three very different cultures. But I am not sure that this book is the best summary of that experience.

JESSIE L. EMBRY
Brigham Young University

End of Watch: Utah's Murdered Police Officers, 1858-2003. By Robert Kirby

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. xvi + 309 pp. Cloth, $34.95.)

IT WOULD SEEM A SIMPLE ENOUGH TASK to assemble a list of people, describe their common bond, and write it up in the form of a self-published monograph to add to the local historiography. The vast majority of these works follow just such a path, and, unfortunately, amount to little more than that—lists that actually add little to local history. Many such efforts have targeted fallen law enforcement officers to serve as memorials for those who have paid the supreme sacrifice in the line of duty, but these books and pamphlets often fall short as works of history and usually end up collecting dust on the local historical society museum's gift shop shelf. Robert Kirby, a former Utah law enforcement officer and now popular columnist with *The Salt Lake Tribune*, has set a new standard in how such books ought to be done. *End of Watch: Utah's Murdered Police Officers, 1858-2003*, is a marvelous description of the careers and murders of fifty-six law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty. Published by the University of Utah Press, another sign of the book's legitimacy as a piece of historical scholarship, *End of Watch* is thoroughly researched, well written, engaging, and significant, and will not collect dust.

Kirby details these tragic yet intriguing killings, starting with the murder of Salt Lake City police officer William Cooke in October 1858 and concluding with the story of Garfield County sheriff's deputy David Charles Jones, who was murdered in January 2003. Kirby covers the range of Utah law enforcement—police officers, sheriffs and their deputies, United States Marshals, National Forest Service Rangers, and Utah Highway Patrol officers, among others, are honored in this book. A straightforward descriptive pattern adds to the flow of the book. Kirby offers background on the officer in question, then sets the scene for the killing, describes the subsequent man-hunt or arrest, then details the trial, escape, lynching – whatever the case was – and then adds an account of what happened to the

victim's surviving spouse and family, which is often just as interesting a story as that of the officer. His writing style is lucid and descriptive, and his knack for historical context separates this book from others of this historiographic genre.

Kirby's purpose is to honor these fifty-six officers by telling their stories, many of which were heretofore unknown, in some cases even to the victims' own modern law enforcement agency. As a work of history, however, Kirby has made a significant contribution. The chronological framework in essence presents a history of Utah through the contextual lens of law enforcement and crime. This unique window into Utah's past offers a fascinating look at how Utah experienced Mormon-gentile conflict, the mythic West, urban growth and rural isolation, prohibition, infamous contemporary crimes, and often overlooked or ignored ethnic conflict. These are among the many things that make Utah history so rich, and to view this history through the tragic experiences of these murdered officers only adds to our understanding of this past and our sense of place and self.

Kirby has done double duty here—he has accomplished an important civic service to satisfy a need to honor and remember those that have sacrificed their lives in the line of duty. Of equal importance, he has also produced a significant work of history, the type of which is usually not done nearly so effectively and soundly.

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Qualities That Count: Heber J. Grant as Businessman, Missionary, and Apostle

By Ronald W. Walker. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2004. xviii + 299 pp. Paper, $18.95.)

BEST KNOWN AS PRESIDENT of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1918 to 1945, Heber J. Grant was also an important Utah businessman. He was born in 1856. His father, mayor of Salt Lake City Jedediah M. Grant, died only a few days later, leaving the child to be raised by his courageous mother, Rachel Ivins Grant. A life stretching over nearly ninety years is bound to tell us much about the history of the church and of Utah. Those familiar with Ronald Walker's work will not be surprised to find insightful, well written treatments of the topics.

The chapters are grouped under four headings: Family Life, Businessman, Young Apostle, Missionary. A chapter on the Wasatch Literary Association, 1874-1878, gives a fascinating glimpse into the recreation, self-improvement, and maturing of several Salt Lake City young people who later became prominent. The economic and business life of Utah, inadequately treated by most historians, is given important examination, including a description of Grant's role in obtaining loans during the Panic of 1893. The best way to gain an experiential understanding of

Mormon polygamy, it seems to me, is by a case study approach, beautifully exemplified in Walker's narration of the Colorado "exile" Emily Wells Grant. As plural wife of a prominent, wealthy community and church leader, Emily had certain advantages, but she experienced many of the trials common to such wives just before and after the manifesto.

In 1972 Ronald Walker began work on a biography of Heber J. Grant. Assisting him over the years, he writes, has been "a small phalanx of research assistants." Mountains of source materials—diary, correspondence, account books, published sermons, and others—had to be scrutinized. "When finished with all this research," Walker writes, "my files bulged with more than ten thousand five-by-eight-inch note sheets."

Yet the present work is not the biography. That project, the author says, he was "required to put aside" due to "intervening tasks at the Historical Department." These essays are here published "pending my formal biography."

With one exception, all the chapters have been previously published between 1979 and 1988 as articles in the *Ensign*, *Dialogue*, *BYU Studies*, *Sunstone*, *Arizona and the West*, *Journal of Mormon History*, and a compilation entitled *The Twentieth Century American West*. Serious students of Utah and Mormon history have been familiar with these articles for many years now.

One chapter is here published for the first time: "Grant's Watershed: Succession in the Presidency, 1887-1889." At the beginning of 1887, as Walker explains, the seriousness of President John Taylor's illness was not publicly announced or even made known to the apostles and family members, this at Taylor's insistence. First Councilor George Q. Cannon was forced to make many decisions. Second Counselor Joseph F. Smith returned from Hawaii only on the eve of Taylor's death. Prior to his death President Taylor had turned over stock in a mining company to Cannon with the stipulation that it be used for the interest of the church.

When they finally met as a quorum after Taylor's death, some of the apostles gave vent to complaints. They were suspicious of George Q. Cannon. Adding fuel to the fire was a sensitive case that led to the excommunication of one of Cannon's sons. Two or three apostles complained about Cannon's imperious manner. If it is important that behind-the-scenes meetings of church councils be known, Walker has rendered a service in describing personality differences and clashes of views as well as the eventual unity, hard-won and not always permanent.

On the whole, Walker handles the difficult interpersonal relationships judiciously. To a large degree, he explains, the confusion grew out of the unusual circumstances of the time. In the late 1880s, most of the apostles and the entire First Presidency were in hiding to avoid prosecution for violating the Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker Acts. In addition, in Walker's view, the role of the apostles, the definition of their duties and authority vis-à-vis the presidency, had not been clearly defined. He also sees the whole episode as part of Heber J. Grant's "coming of age." Still relatively young, in his thirties, Grant could be feisty and outspoken, qualities he would later learn to moderate.

When Wilford Woodruff became church president in 1889, he selected as his first counselor none other than George Q. Cannon. Some remained jealous of Cannon, who could still serve as whipping boy for malcontents, but in 1898, when Lorenzo Snow became president, he chose Cannon as his first counselor. In 1901 at Cannon's funeral Heber J. Grant "paid a fervent tribute to the memory of the departed," describing him as "ever helpful, cheerful and buoyant under the most adverse circumstance…a source of strength to his associates."

In view of the worldwide expansion of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the twentieth century, it is interesting to read of missionary conditions one century ago. In his final two chapters Walker recounts Heber J. Grant's experience as president of missions in Japan and Europe from 1901 to 1906. Much of Grant's life still lay before him. He would become president of the church in 1918 and preside until just before the end of World War II.

This book makes available in a single volume articles that would have to be chased down elsewhere. Introducing a new generation of readers to the work of one of Utah's premier historians, it portrays Heber J. Grant's life as a rags-to-riches story, but also makes us feel we know him during the trials he encountered as both he and Utah traversed a period of transition and coming of age.

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